An Historical

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Manners and *Behaviour*

OF THE

CHRISTIANS:

And the Practices of

CHRISTIANITY

Throughout the

SEVERAL AGES

OF THE

CHURCH.

Written originally in *French* by Msr. *Cl. Fleury*, Præceptor to *Monseigneur de Vermandois*; and to the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Anjou*.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

THE'

PREFACE.

THE Learned Author of this Book gives ſeveral Inſtances of his Ingenuity and Candor. He recommends ſome Primitive Practices that juſtifie our Reformation; *Particularly the continual reading and ſtudying of the* Holy Scriptures. *Speaking of the Ancient Chriſtians, he ſays, that* they ſtudied the Word of God in private, Meditating upon it Day and Night. They read over in their Houſes what they heard at the Church. Maſters of Families took care to repeat thoſe Expoſitions of Scripture they had Learnt from their Paſtors.

Many *Lay-Chriſtians* could ſay the

Holy Scripture by heart. They generally carried a Bible about with them; and many Saints have been found Buried with the Goſpel lying on their Breaſts.

Women, no leſs than Men, read the Holy Scripture; and in the Perſecution regretted nothing ſo much as the loſs of their Bibles.

Parents took ſuch care to Inſtruct their Families, that in all Antiquity we find no *Catechiſm* for little Children, nor any publick proviſion made for the Inſtruction of thoſe that were Baptized before they came to Years of Diſcretion. Every private Houſe was then as a Church.

He obſerves that St. John *was the* Chief *in our Saviour's Affection*; Jeſus Chriſt had a particular Kindneſs for his Diſciples, and for his Apoſtles; and among them for St. *Peter*, and the two Sons of *Zebedee*, and for St, *John* above all the reſt.

He does not found the Preference of the Bleſſed Virgin, *upon Blood and natural Relation; but upon the Endowments and Qualifications of her Mind. Notwithſtanding the moſt tender Affection which* JESUS CHRIST *had for his Mother,* He ſeems ſometimes to have expreſſed himſelf harſhly towards her; and reproved the Woman that Bleſſed her barely upon the account of her being his Mother, and declared that he owned no other for his Mother and Kindred, but they that did the will of his Father. He knew what that great Perſon was able to bear, and was willing to let the World ſee, that Fleſh and Blood had no ſhare in his affections.

Mr. Fleury *well obſerves,* that the Church of Jeruſalem which JESUS CHRIST, with his own Hands began to Build upon the Foundaion

of the Synagogue was *the* Root *and original of all other Churches.*

He ſeems in nothing more to cenſure the Reformation, than in what he writes of the Celibacy of Prieſts; *altho'* Platina *a Contemporary with* Æneas Sylvius *tels us that, that Learned Pope* Pius II. *uſed to ſay*; 'There was great reaſon for Prohibiting Prieſts to Marry, but greater for allowing it again. *And Mr.* Fleury *writes thus of the Primitve Chriſtians*; they knew but two States, *Marriage* or *Continence*. They generally made chocie of the Married State, having no good opinion of the Celibacy of the Heathen; tho' they preferred the State of Continence as knowing its Excellency, and often found a way of Reconciling both theſe States into One; for there were many Married Perſons, who yet Lived in Continence. They conſidered Marriage as an Emblem of that Union, which

Platina in Vit. P. Pij. II.

is betweenChriſt and his Church. They knew that the Relation of Father and Mother, was an High and Honourable Character, as being the Images of God, in a more peculiar manner, and co-operating with him in the Production of Men. It is Certain by the Goſpel, that St. *Peter* was a Married Man. Tradition tells us the ſame of St. *Philip* the Apoſtle; and that both of them had Children; and it is particularly obſerved that St. *Philip* gave his Daughters in Marriage. Among the Rules they give for the Education of Children this is one, that to ſecure their Virtue, they ſhould timely diſpoſe of them in Marriage: And they adviſed thoſe that out of Charity Bred up Orphans, to match them as ſoon as they came to Age; and that to their own Children rather than to Strangers; ſo little did they regard Intereſt.

What He ſays of their Communi-

cating in both Kinds; *publickly Reading the Holy Scripture always in the* Vulgar Tongue: *The Custom of Sitting in their Churches; the Length of their Sunday-Service, is also Remarkable. When they* reserved part of the Sacrament *as a Viaticum for Dying Persons, that which they carried Abroad, was only the Bread*; tho' in their publick Assemblies, all in general Communicated under both Kinds; excepting little Children, to whom they gave only the Wine.

All the Lessons of the Scripture were Read in the *Vulgar Tongue*; *i. e.* in the Language Spoken by the better sort of People in every Country.

During the time of the Lessons and Sermon, the Audience was regularly Seated, the Men on one side of the Church, and the Women on the other: When all the Seats were filled the younger sort of People continued Standing. In *Africa* St. *Augustin* takes

takes notice that the People ſtood all Sermon-time; but he better approved the Cuſtom of the *Tranſmarine* Churches, as he calls them, where they heard Sitting.

Their *Litnrgy* muſt needs have been very long: Indeed Chriſtians did not then think that they had any thing elſe to do on Sundays, but to ſerve God. St. *Gregory* to ſhew how much his Strength was decayed, ſays, that he was ſcarce able to keep himſelf ſtanding for thoſe Three Hours, while he performed the Office of the Church; and yet his Sermons that are left us, are very ſhort

What Mr. Fleury *ſays of the Compaſſion, the Church had for* Hereticks *muſt not be omitted, becauſe nothing ſeems more to have encreaſed the ſcandalous Diviſions of Chriſtendom, than ſeverity.* The Church Interceeded in behalf of her own Enemies. We have many Epiſtles of St. *Auguſtin* where

where he Begs the favour of the Magiſtrate in the behalf of the *Donatiſts*, convicted of horrid violencies, and even Murders committed on the Catholicks. He pleaded that it would be a diſhonour to the Sufferings of the Murdered, to put to Death the Authors of them, and that if they could find no other penalties for them but Death, they would thereby bring themſelves to that paſs, that the Church who delighted not in the Blood of her Adverſaries, would not dare to demand Juſtice againſt them. This was a general Rule, that the Church ſhould never ſeek the Death of any Man. They were content that Chriſtian Magiſtrates ſhould Correct or over-aw Hereticks, by Baniſhment or Pecuniary penalties, but they would have their Lives Spared: And the whole Church declared againſt the proceeding of the Biſhop *Ithacius* who Proſecuted the Arch-

Arch Heretick *Priſcillian* to Death. Yet the Biſhops couldnot always obtain the Pardon they deſired for theſe ſort of Offenders, no more than they could for others. Princes, to preſerve the publick Peace, Enacted the penalty of Death againſt Hereticks, and their Laws were ſometimes put in Execution.

If in theſe latter Ages the Vows *of Celibacy, and Poverty have been inconvenient, and but ill kept ; this might have been prevented by the Omiſſion of of them ; for as this Author obſerves ;* We ſee no Solemn Vows in theſe firſt times. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks of a Monks returning to the World as of a thing altogether free.

Again He tells us that the *Monks*, in imitation of the Primitive Chriſtians, ſpent much of their time in Reading the *Holy Scriptures.* The Rule of St. *Benedict* preſcribes the ſame to his Monks ; and more particularly

ly that all the time of Lent, and on Sundays, they ſhould apply themſelves only to this Exerciſe.

He Judiciouſly remarks how Forged Books *and* pretended Miracles *gained Credit*: For want of critical Learning, and the knowledg of Antiquity, they were ready to receive ſuch Suppoſitious Writings as were Impoſed upon the World, under the ſpecious Names of Eccleſiaſtical Authors, and alſo became too Credulous in believing Miracles. So certain it was that the Apoſtles and their Diſciples had wrought Miracles, and that many true one's were Daily performed at the Tombs of the Martyrs, that they were not now over-curious in examining ſo as to diſtinguiſh the true from the falſe. The moſt ſurpriſing Relations of this kind in Hiſtory, were the beſt received. Ignorance in Philoſophy, and the little knowledg they had of Nature,

ture, made them take all ſtrange Appearances for Prodigies and interpret them as the Supernatural ſigns of God's wrath. They believed there was ſomething extraordinary in Aſtrology, and dreaded Ecclipſes and Comets as diſmal Preſages.

To give but one Example more; Religion, ſays Mr. *Fleury*, can't ſubſiſt without Study and Preaching to preſerve the Soundneſs of its Doctrine and the Purity of its morals. It muſt neceſſarily fall into Decay, unleſs the *Holy Scripture* be diligently Read, taught, and expounded to the People; unleſs the *Apoſtolical Traditions* be preſerved in their Purity, and Purged from time to time of thoſe *Spurious Additions*, which the Inventions of Men, without any juſt Authority have made to them.

Would but the Church of Rome take away theſe and all other Additions, that are contrary to and Inconſiſtent with the

the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Christ, in the first and purest Ages of Christianity, and forbid all Disputation &c. *as* Innocent XI. *by his Decree of the* 19. *of* Feb. 1678. *entirely abolished the Office of the Immaculate Conception,* &c. *Approved by* Paul V. *They might happily put an end to the great Division that has so long made the Enemies of Christianity to rejoyce; or, be able to maintain the charge of Schism against those that should then refuse their Communion.*

What Passages or Expressions occur in this Treatise, which may be judg'd contrary to and Inconsistent with the Doctrine, Worship and Government of the Church of England, *as by Law Establish'd; the Author and Editor of this Book are not answerable for, nor pretend to justify, considering that 'tis only a Translation of an Historical Tract, written in French, and often Printed by a Learned Author of the Roman Com-*

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munion, whoſe Name is mention'd in the Title-Page of this Book.

What he hath ſaid in favour of ſeveral of the Doctrines of the Reformation, and the admirable Moral Reflections, which frequently occur throughout his Hiſtory, and eſpecially the former part together with other pious Relations, of it, are enough to ſhew, that excellent uſe may be made of this Treatiſe, and hence to juſtify the Publication of it in our own Language. And the more exceptionable paſſages that are in it, I muſt Entreat the Reader to conſider as the meer effects of our Author's Byas from the Communion wherein he Lives, and to admire rather, that he has ſaid ſo much on our ſide, than that he has ſaid no more.

ERRA-

ERRATA

PAge 8. Lines 16. read to eſtabliſh. p. 13. l. 13. r. in mind of p. 27. l. 22. dele and. p. 35. l. 22. r. Orchard. p. 37. *Ibid.* l. 22. r. diſeaſe. p. 41. l. 11. r. furniſh. *Ibid.* 18. r. Chriſtians. p. 42. l. 24. r. *Pædagogus.* p. 45. l. 8. r. Sanctify. p. 47. l. 29. r. giveing. p. 54. l. 32. r. itſelf. p. 56. l. 27. r. uſed. p. 77. l. 18. for where r. were. *Ibid.* l. 24. r. Zealous. p. 86. l. 26. r. occaſion. p. 87. l. 13. r. *Gnoſticks.* p. 99. l. 15. r. *Tutelar.* p. 103. l. 18. r. *Equueus.* p. 104. l. 28. r. lewd way. p. 105 l. 5. for of r. off. *Ibid.* l. 6. r. Spit it. p. 106. l. 17. r. Martyrs. p. 107. l. 23. dele the. p. 110. l. 25. r. reduced. p. 119. l. 25. r. Slaves. *Ibid.* r. State. p. 124. l. 22. r. ſuch cales. p. 129. l. 9. for Bells r. Belles. p. 136. l. 7. for thy r. they. *Ibid.* r. delivered. p. 148. l. 12. r. Wife. p. 149. l. 25 r. Fifty. p. 156. l. 1. r. to each other. p. 157. l. 2. r. Prieſts. p. 158. l. 17. for them r. him. p. 165. l. 20. for this r his. p. 182. l. 24. r. *Martyrium.* p. 204. l. 30 dele or the leaſt ſign. p. 205. l. 15. r. hath retem'd. p. 240 l. 22. r. *Sylveſter.* p. 241. l. 5. r. ornamented. *Ibid.* l. 30. r. Candleſticks. p. 242. l. 16. dele with. p. 251. l. 8. r. Peſtilence. p. 259. l. 15 r. ſoever. p. 266. l. 17. r. many p. 272. l. 1. for for r. the. p. 289. l. 24. r. thereupon. p. 305. l. 30. r. Converſions. *Ibid.* l. 32. for was r. were. p. 306. l. 1. r. Religon. *Ibid.* l. 17. r. *Hungarian.* p. 307. l. 13. r. could. p. 310. l. 2. r. Canons. *Ibid.* l. 31. r. how miſerably. p. 313. l. 30. r. *Barbarous.* p. 314. l. 2. r. do that. *Ibid.* l. 6. r. Modeſty. p. 318. l. 10. r. Chaplains. p. 322. l. 6. r. our way of Liveing. p. 326. l. 20. r. Journeys. *Ibid.* l. 26. r. Travells. p. 327. l. 32. r. upon them. p. 328. l. 15. r. beare. p. 330. l. 28. r. aſſiſtance. p. 332. l. 31. r. multitude.

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THE BEHAVIOUR AND MANNERS OF THE Chriſtians.

Part the Firſt.

I. The diviſion of the whole.

I Shall divide my Work into four Parts: The firſt will repreſent the Manners of the Chriſtians of *Jeruſalem*, to the Deſtruction of that City, under *Veſpaſian*. This firſt ſtate of Chriſtianity, though but of a ſhort continuance, was ſo ſupereminent in its Perfection, that it well deſerves a ſeparate Conſideration.

The ſecond will take in all the Time of the Perſecution; that is the entire ſpace of three Centuries.

In the third I ſhall deſcribe the State of the Church in its Liberty, which Commenced in the fourth Age. And

In the laſt conſider the Changes it afterwards underwent; and endeavour to diſcover the Cauſes of them.

II. The firſt part, the Church of Jerulem.

The Chriſtian Religion, as it was not the Invention of Man, but the Work of God; ſo like the Univerſe, it had its full Perfection in its firſt Birth, and was moſt Glorious in its earlieſt Productions. It is not to be imagined, ſaith *Tertullian*, *that the Apoſtles were ignorant of any Truth, profitable to Salvation, or that the Invention of after Ages hath found out any new Rule of Living more perfect, or more Sublime than what Jeſus Chriſt taught his Diſciples.* But this Heavenly Doctrine did not always produce the like effects, but had its different Operations according to the different Diſpoſitions of thoſe that received it, or the different meaſures of Grace, with which God was pleaſed to Accompany it. The true *Iſraelites*, who had by the Tradition of their Fathers, and the uſe of the Holy Scriptures, been bred up in the knowlege of the true God, and from their Infancy inured to the obſervation of his Laws; the Goſpel found them well prepared for that higher Perfection it required, when that perfection ſhould be diſcovered unto them, and they ſhould be made to underſtand, what kind of Salvation that was, which their *Meſſiah* was to bring them, and what kind of Kingdom, his Kingdom was to be.

Tetrul. Præſcirpt. C. 22.

But

But as for the Gentiles, who had hitherto lived without God, and without Law, trained up (according to the cuſtom of the then Deluded World) in the moſt horrid Superſtitions; Worſhiping (with as little underſtanding as the Beaſts of their Sacrifice) dumb Idols, plunged in ſenſuality, and habituated to all ſorts of Impieties and Impurities, it was far more difficult for them to Riſe to the ſame Perfection. So that 'tis among the Chriſtians of this firſt Church of *Jeruſalem*, we muſt look for an Example of a Life, the moſt perfectly Chriſtian, and conſequently the moſt perfectly happy, that Mortality is capable of. *Eph.* 2. 12 1 *Cor.* 12. 2.

We muſt *begin* with the *Life* of *Jeſus Chriſt himſelf*, who is both the Original, and the Model of all perfection. He hath given us an Example that as he hath done, ſo ſhould we do. And this is one of the grand Advantages we receive by the Incarnation, that thereby the Word became ſenſible, and by converſing with Man, as Man rendred himſelf the Object, not only of our Admiration and Adoration, but of our Imitation alſo; having in his Life ſet us that perfect Exemplar, in conformity to which, we are to Regulate ours. I know very well, that a Life ſo Divine cannot he worthily deſcribed, but by thoſe *who have ſeen with their Eyes and heard with their Ears, and whoſe hands have handled the* *Jo.* 13. 15. 1 *Jo.* 1. 1.

Word of Life, and who were themſelves acted by his Spirit. Yet may every Man according to the meaſure of his Capacity, employ his thoughts and meditations upon it, and point out ſome of the particulars which he Judges more proper for our Imitation; leaving it to others more advanced in the exerciſes of Devotion and the practice of Chriſtian Vertues to make ſtill farther Diſcoveries in ſo Inexhauſtible a Subject.

In the Life of Jeſus Chriſt we cannot go too far back. He was an Example from the Cradle, and in his firſt Years ſet us a Copy of the firſt Vertues we are capable of Learning, that is, the Vertues of Childhood. He ſhewed himſelf in that Age Docile, Tractable and Submiſſive towards his Parents, and of ſuch a ſweetneſs of Temper and Behaviour, that rendred him amiable in the ſight of all that beheld him.

Luk. 2. 40. 52. For thus ſaith the Scripture; As he Increaſed in Stature, ſo he increaſed in Wiſdom, and in favour with God and Man. As for all the reſt of his Youth till he came to be thirty Years of Age; we have no other Account of it, but that he abode in

Matt. 3. 55. the little City of *Nazareth*, paſſing there for the Son of a Carpenter, and was a

Mar. 6. 3. Carpenter himſelf. This Silence of Hiſtory expreſſes better than any Words could have done; the State of Privacy in which

which as yet he lived. Jesus Christ himself (He who came to be the light of the World) passed the greatest part of his Days upon earth in obscurity. He spent thirty years in the condition of a private Life, and only three or four in Preaching, and the publick exercise of his Ministry, to shew that 'tis the duty of the generality of men to keep themselves within a private Station, and labour in silence, and that 'tis only for some few persons to put themselves upon publick Functions, and that only so far forth as they shall be by the Designation of God, or by Charity toward their Neighbour, obliged thereunto.

The Occupation which he chose to follow is also worthy our Reflexion. To live by the labour of ones Hands, is a state of Life more Poor, than to have Lands to Till or Cattle to Feed. Whether his Trade of a Carpenter was to build Houses, or (as ancient Tradition reports) to make Plows and other Instruments of Husbandry; 'tis certain 'twas a mean and laborious employment: but at the same time a very useful and necessary one to Society, and such without which there would scarce be any living in the World; and therefore a more laudable way of getting a lively-hood than any of those that Minister only to Pleasure and Vanity. Thus he passed his younger days in the Family

Justin in Tryph.

of his Father, and place of his Education, leading a life not ſlaviſh or reproachful, nor trifling and inſignificant; but ſerious, employed, and laborious, ſubmitting to the Penalty impoſed upon the Poſterity of *Adam*, of earning their Bread with the ſweat of their Brows, and ſhewing himſelf an Example of thoſe two Vir-
Ma. 11.29 tues he ſo much recommended to others, *Meekneſs* and *Humility*.

Before he ent'red upon the execution of his Miſſion, he prepared himſelf for it by
Luk. 3. 21. Baptiſm, Prayer and Faſting; not that he had any need of theſe Preparatories, but that he might (as he himſelf expreſſes it)
Mat. 3.15. fulfil all Righteouſneſs, and give us an Example. His Faſt of forty Days and forty Nights, and ſubſiſting ſo long without Food, is ordinarily look'd upon as a Miracle, as well as the like in *Moſes* and *Elias*. But I know not whether we do in this matter ſufficiently underſtand the ſtrength of Nature it ſelf. St.
Theodor. *Hiſt. Relig.* P. *Simeon Stylites* did more than once paſs an whole *Lent* together without Eating, having by degrees brought himſelf to ſo prodigious an Abſtinence. And at this Day there are Idolaters in *India*, who can paſs twenty days or more, without taſting a bit all that while.

During this Faſt, and all his long abode in the hideous ſolitude of the Wilderneſs;

in

in what can we imagine he employ'd his Time but in Prayer? But who dares pretend to deſcribe the Praying of Jeſus Chriſt? Let us humbly Meditate upon what the Scripture hath left to us concerning it; and more eſpecially upon that Heavenly Prayer, recorded by St. *John*: *Joh.* 17. Nay, let not the Manner after which he prayed, nor the Circumſtances, of it eſcape our Obſervation. He prayed in the darkneſs of the Night, and ſometimes whole Nights together. He Prayed in Publick, and he Prayed in Private; in the Garden, in the Mountains, in the Wilderneſs, removed out of the noiſe of the World, where no mortal Eye could ſee him. He lift up his Eyes and his Hands to Heaven, he caſt himſelf upon his bended Knees; He proſtrated his Body on the Earth; teſtifying by all this his profound Veneration and Submiſſion to his Heavenly Father.

He ſuffered himſelf to be tempted, to animate us after his Example, couragiouſly to reſiſt the evil one. He repelled every aſſault by Scripture inſtances, to teach us among other things, to be always Meditating upon theſe ſacred Writings, to have recourſe to them upon all occaſions, and to regulate every Action according to their Directions.

After that he takes upon him his Character, and makes his Publick Appearance

in the World; beginning from that time to lead a Life which is the Model, after which Prieſts, Biſhops, and all publick Perſons ought to form theirs. His principal employment was the Inſtruction of
*Luk.*19.10. Mankind, and the Converſion of Sinners. He came (as he himſelf declares) to ſeek, and to ſave that which was loſt. To that end, by the Miraculous Cure of Diſeaſes, and his many other Works, he drew the Eyes of all the World upon him; thus at the ſame time convincing their Judgments by the Proof of his Power, and gaining their Affections by inſtances of his Goodneſs. For Miracles as they were neceſſary to eſtabliſh his Miſſion, ſo were they of no leſs Efficacy to recommend his Doctrine: And 'tis in this, that the holy Biſhops of old, tho' without the gift of Miracles, knew how to imitate their Maſter; they knew what weight their Works would add to their Doctrine; and therefore by the largeneſs of their Alms, the Protection of the Oppreſſed, the Reconciliation of Differances, and other ſuch like good Services they did to Mankind, endeavoured to recommend themſelves to the World, and gain Reſpect and Love to their Perſons; though even the Works themſelves of Jeſus Chriſt; as to the manner of them, are not altogether above our imitation, for they may ſerve to teach us the Vertues of Sim-

Simplicity, Humility, and Patience. He did his Miracles without Affectation, without any thing of Oſtentation or Vain-Glory, and without ſo much as being entreated, unleſs ſometimes when he found it neceſſary, either to exerciſe the Faith of thoſe who wanted his help, or to diſcover it, and make it the more Exemplary to others. He generally concealed his glorious Performances, with as much care as others do their diſgraces. He ſeems to attribute them rather to the Faith of the Patients, than to his own Power. And this is given as the reaſon, why he did ſo few of them at *Nazareth*, becauſe of their unbelief, at which 'tis ſaid, he himſelf marvelled. *Mar.* 6. 6. He aſcribed all to the Glory of his Father, *I can of mine own ſelf do nothing*, ſaith he, *my Father that dwelleth in me, it is he that doeth the works.* *Joh.* 5. 30. *Joh.* 14. 10

He muſt needs have had a wonderful Patience to endure that incredible multitude; and the greateſt part of them Diſeaſed, Poor and miſerable Creatures, that continually crouded after him, and preſſed with that violence to come within the reach of him, that they even threw themſelves upon him, as appears when he healed the Woman who laboured under the Iſſue of Blood; *Mar.* 5. 24. and when he bad his Diſciples provide a ſmall Ship to wait on him, to ſave himſelf from the Throng. *Mar.* 3. 9.

When

Mar. 1.33. and 3. 20. When he was in any Houſe, all the City crowded to the Doors, as it were beſieging him, and not giving him time to eat; ſo that he could not ſo much as enter into *Mat.* 1.45. the Cities but by ſtealth, and was fain to abide without in the deſart places; and yet even there the People in vaſt multitudes flocked after him; as appears by the five thouſand Men he fed in the Wilderneſs; ſo that he was forced to retire to the Mountains for Prayer, to ſpend whole Nights there, and ſleep only at broken intervals, paſſing from place to place; as appears by his ſound ſleep in the Ship, *Mat.* 8. 24. when in the midſt of a tempeſt at Sea.

His Life was far more painful now, than it was when he lived by the Labours of his Hands; for now it appears he had none of his former leiſure, by his permit- *Luke* 8. 2. ing ſome Women to follow after him to ſupply him with Neceſſaries, and by his *Joh.* 12. 6. keeping ſome mony by him, of which *Joh.* 13. 29. *Judas* had the charge; which ſhews how little he valued his Money by the choice he made of its Keeper. He is obſerved to have given Alms; and yet at the ſame time he wanted himſelf; ſo that he was forced upon working a Miracle, to pay for himſelf and St. *Peter*, the Tribute of the *firſt born*, which was but half a Shekel, that is of our Coin about fifteen Pence.

And

And indeed, he always lived in great Poverty. He ſaith himſelf, That he had not where to lay his Head. *Mat.* 8.20. He had no habitation of his own, nor ſo much as a place to lodge in but upon courteſy. At his Death we do not find that he had any thing to leave behind him but only his Garments, He ſaith, that he *came not to be Miniſtred unto, but to Miniſter.* *Ma.* 10.45. He Journied from place to place on Foot; and when he made his entrance into *Jeruſalem* riding upon an Aſs; it is plain that was an extraordinary Action. He travelled in the heat of the Day. When he met the Woman of *Samaria*, tis ſaid, that was about the ſixth *Jo.* 4. 6. Hour, that is, about Noon, and that he reſted himſelf by the Well, being wearied with his Journy: For though he was the Lord of Nature; yet we do not find that ever he wrought a Miracle for his own private Benefit, or toſave himſelf any Labour. 'Tis once ſaid, that the Angels came and *Mat.* 4. 11. Miniſtred to him, to ſhew the right he had to command them, had he been pleaſed to have made uſe of it.

In this ſame inſtance of his meeting with the Woman of *Samaria*, we ſee his wonderful Modeſty, for 'tis ſaid, That *his Diſciples marvelled that he talked with a Woman.* *Jo.* 4. 27. And his very Enemies themſelves had never the Face to invent any Calumny againſt him that could call his Cha-

Chaſtity into Queſtion. Nor was this a forced Modeſty? There was nothing ſtreined nor Affected in him, who was the declared enemy of Hypocriſy, and who was the very Truth it ſelf. His Converſation was ſimple, eaſy, Natural; yet lively and Affecting. He obſerved the Countenances of People, as when 'tis ſaid that he beheld the Rich young Man, and loved him, Cheriſhing with a Compaſſionate look the very firſt beginnings of goodneſs in him, how weak and Imperfect ſo ever they were. He is often obſerved to have Stretched forth his Hands, and uſed other ſuch like expreſſive Geſtures. Sometimes by his Looks, and by his Words, He diſcovered the Sentiments of Admiration, Indignation, Anger, and of that uneaſineſs which the unbelief of Men put him to. At other times again, he Expreſſed the ſofteſt Affections of Tenderneſs and Indulgence; as when he cauſed the little Children to be brought unto him; laid his Hands upon them, Embraced them in his Arms, and Recommended to his Diſciples the Imitation of their Innocency and Humility.

Mar. 9.46. *and* 10.14.

As to his outward Appearance, there was nothing ſingular or Extraordinary in it. He conformed himſelf to the ſame way of Living with the other *Jews*, appeared as a private Perſon, and had no Ex-

External Marks to Distinguish him from the Common People; one of whom he makes himself, by the name of the Son of Man; for that's the meaning of that Appellation. He led a Life full of Hardship and very Laborious, but without any singular Austerity. He Fed as others did, he abstained not from Wine, nor made any Scruple of being seen at great Entertainments; as at the Marriage in *Cana*, and at St. *Matthews*'s Feast. *Luk.* 5. 29. And yet he so little regarded Eating, that his Disciples once putting him in mind of taking some Food; when he had manifestly occasion enough for it, his answer was, I *have other Meat to Eat that ye know not of: My Meat is to do the will of my Father.* *Jo.* 4. 32. 34.

Yet notwithstanding this mean and simple outward Appearance, he maintained a Marvellous Dignity, and kept himself far above Contempt. His Deportment was always serious, Grave and Composed. Upon two Several occasions it is taken Notice of him that he Wept; but not at all that he Laughed; nay or ever so much as Smiled, at least, as St. *Chrysostom* observes. He never asked any Man a Farthen, chosing rather to Work a Miracle than be beholden to any Body for a piece of Mony, to pay his Tribute with. But when he sent his Disciples to seek an *In Matt. Hom.* 6. *Mar.*

Ass

Aſs to make his Entrance into *Jeruſalem*, and to take up for him an upper Room where he might keep the Paſſover; he ſhews by his manner of Speaking that he well knew no Man could have denied him any thing he ſhould have asked. He proved his own ſaying by his Actions.

Act 20. 35. *That it is more bleſſed to Give than to Receive*, ſince continually diſpencing ſo many benefits to others he received ſo little from them. All the World ſought to him and ran after him, and he ſought to no Man; but going from City to City, Exhorted all Men every where to Repentance. He was free of Acceſs to all Perſons that were any way Diſeaſed, and to all Sinners whom he found diſpoſed for Converſion. To theſe laſt ſort he ſhewed himſelf ſo eaſy and Familar as even to Eat with them, and Lodge in their Houſes. So that upon this occaſion he ſuffered a

Luk. 7. 38. certain *Woman to kiſs his Feet and Anoint them with Ointment*; a ſort of Indulgence, which might otherwiſe have ſeemed very oppoſite to that Poverty and Mortification he always Profeſſed.

As he came into the World for the Inſtruction of all Mankind, he was continually upon his Work of Teaching both in Publick and Private. On the Sabbath

Luk. 4. 16. Days, he uſed (according to the cuſtom of the *Jewiſh* Doctors) to Expound the Scriptures

tures in their Synagogues; and thence they gave him the Title of Maſter or *Rabbi.* But he had a peculiar Air of Authority which ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed him from their Doctors. *He taught them as one having Authority*, ſaith the Evangeliſt, and *they wondered at the Gracious Words which proceeded out of his Mouth.* Mat. 7. 29. Luk. 4. 22.

His diſcourſe was plain and clear, without any other Ornament than thoſe lively and natural Figures, which are never wanting to a man fully perſwaded and affected within himſelf, and which are therefore the moſt powerful to perſwade and affect others. He ſpake much in a little, and ſometimes anſwered Queſtions put to him, more by his Actions than by his Words, as when he ſaith to the Diſciples of St. *John* the *Baptiſt*, *Go and ſhew* John *again thoſe things which you do hear and ſee.* Mat. 11. 4. He lays down great Principles without ſhewing himſelf much concerned to demonſtrate them, or to draw any Conſequences from them. Theſe Principles carry in themſelves ſuch a light of Truth, that if any Man withſtand them, 'tis becauſe he is wilfully Blind. And 'twas to puniſh this Depravity of their Hearts, that ſometimes he ſpake to them in Parables and dark ſayings. If at any time he made uſe of Proofs and Arguments, they were generally ſimple and natural,

taken

taken from ſenſible Objects and Familiar Compariſons. His Miracles and his Virtues were of all others the moſt Powerful Proofs, and which he moſt inſiſted on, as being adapted to all ſorts of Capacities, and therefore far more Convincing than all the Syllogiſms of Philoſophers. The learned, as *Nicodemus*, and the unlearned as the *Man* that was *born blind*, were equally affected with this way of Proof. To this he often joins the Teſtimonies of the Law and the Prophets, demonſtrating that his Doctrine proceeded from the ſame Wiſdom, and his Miracles from the ſame Power, and that the Old and New-Teſtament are both founded upon the ſame Divine Authority. 'Tis to this purpoſe, *Joh.* 2. 3. he ſo often makes uſe of the writings of *Joh.* 9. 31. the Old-Teſtament, either by expreſs Quotations of the very Letter of it, or by manifeſt Alluſions to it.

'Twas in this Spirit of Submiſſion to Divine Authority, that he Nurtured up his Diſciples; afar different method from what the Philoſophers took with theirs; who under the pretence of ſeeking after the Truth, encouraged nothing more in their Pupils than a Spirit of Diſputation and Contention. But Jeſus Chriſt came not to ſeek the Truth, but to diſcover it, in ſuch meaſure as he (who had the full poſſeſſion of all Truth, or rather who was him-

himſelf the very Truth it ſelf) ſhould think fit: To the intent that they might the more profit, both by his diſcourſes and by his Example; he ſeldom ſuffered them to be long out of his Sight, living in common with them, and making of all but one Family. They accompanied him whether ſoever he went, they eat and lodged together with him; ſo that they had the opportunity of being continually taught by him and learning every Moment. He inured them to the imitation of his Poverty, ſending them abroad without furniſhing them either with money or any other ſorts of Proviſions; nay, and when he kept them with him, hunger ſometimes forced them to take up with what they could meet with in the Fields; as when they plucked the Ears of Corn on the Sabbath-Day. Tertul. *de præſcr.* C. 22.

He took great care to Inſtruct them; what they underſtood not of his Publick Diſcourſes he explained to them in Private, uſing them as his Friends and Companions, and making known to them whatſoever he had learned of the Father; that is, ſo far as they were Able to bear it. And yet he did not fondly humour them in their vain Curioſity: On the contrary, we ſometimes find him expreſſly Reprimanding them for their bold Enquiries, both before and after his Reſurrection; *Mat.* 13. 11. 15, 16. *Jo.* 15. 15.

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Mat. 13. 11. 15, 16. *Jo.* 15. 15.

Mat. 24. 36. as when they Queſtioned him concerning the End of the World, and when St. *Peter* would have known what was to become of St, *John*. Act. 1. 7. Jo. 21. 22. At other times, he contented himſelf with paſſing by their Queſtions and giving no anſwer to them; as Jo. 14. 22. when St. *Jude* asked him *why he would not Manifeſt himſelf to the World*. He patiently bore with the ſlowneſs of their Apprehenſion, their Ignorance, their Vanity and Emulation, with all their other Weakneſſes, and never ceaſed Labouring to correct them.

By his Diſciples, I here underſtand thoſe Twelve he had choſen to be always with him. Mar. 3. 14. But the Scripture gives the name of Diſciples alſo to all thoſe that had Embraced his Doctrine and received his Baptiſm, of whom there were a great Number, ſince there were an hundred and twenty of them met together in the ſame Act. 1. 15. Room with the Apoſtles at the Election of St. *Matthias*, and there were more 1 Cor. 15. 6. than five hundred of them together who all at the ſame time ſaw Jeſus Chriſt after his Reſurrection. This Church therefore conſiſted of two Parts; The common ſort of Believers who are ſimply called Diſciples, or the Brethren; and of thoſe whom Jeſus Chriſt had choſen out for the Publick Miniſtry, as the twelve Apoſtles, and the ſeventy two Diſciples, whom

he

he sent before him *by two and two together into every Place where he himself was to follow.* Luk. 10. 1.

By these Distinctions we have set before us the several Degrees of Charity worth our Observation: Jesus Christ hath taught us, that we are to look upon every Man as our Neighbour, whom we ought to Love as our selves; as indeed he himself laid down his Life for all Men: Yet he had a more particular Kindness for his Disciples, and amongst them for his Apostles, and amongst them for St. *Peter* and the two Brothers the Sons of *Zebedee*; and for St. *John* above all the Rest. I shall nor here enquire into the Reasons of this Distinction, or why St. *Peter* and St. *John* should have received such especial Marks of his Favour? I shall onely observe, that he hath by this his Example, Authorised and Sanctifyed the Relations of Friendship, and those closer Bands of Amity which natural Affection or special Inclination may form between particular Persons without any Prejudice to a General Charity. He had other Friends besides his Apostles. He loved *Lazarus* and his two Sisters, he himself calls him his Friend; he expressed a very sensible Grief at his Death, and Wept as he was going to raise him out of the Grave. Luk. 10. 29. Jo. 11. 5. 11. 35.

Who can doubt but that he had a most tender Affection for his Holy Mo-

ther, especially if we consider the care he took of her when he was Dying? And yet he seems some times to have expressed himself somewhat Harshly towards her: As when she found him *Disputing*
Luk. 2. 49. *in the midst of the Doctors*, and when at the Marriage-Feast she told him that their Wine failed them. He reproved the Woman that Blessed her barely upon the ac-
Jo. 2. 4. count of her being his Mother, and declared, that he knew no other for his Mother
Luk. 11. 28. or Kindred but they that did the will of his Father. He well knew, what that strong Soul was able to bear, and was
Mat. 12. 48. willing to let the World see that Flesh and Blood had no share in his Affections.

His Charity extended to all the World.
Mat. 11. 28. *Come unto me, saith he, all ye that Labour and are heavy Laden and I will give you Rest.* It is said, that seeing the Multitude that
Mat. 9. 36. followed him, he was moved with Compassion on them, because they fainted and were scattered abroad as Sheep without
Ma. 14. 14. a Shepherd. 'Twas this his Compassion that forced him at two Several times to multiply the Loaves of Bread; 'twas this
Luk. 7. 13. his Compassion that forced him to raise from the Dead the Son of the Widow of *Naim*. He was a true Lover of his Country, and deeply concerned for the Welfare of the People of *Israel*, and City of *Jerusalem*. In the midst of his Tri-

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umph he took up a sad Lamentation over her, as foreseeing the direful Calamities she was by her own Guilt drawing upon her self. He taught Men their Duty of Obedience to their Prince, Reverence to the Priests and Doctors of the Law how corrupt soever they might be; and he himself paid an Exact Observance to the Laws and Ceremonies of the *Jewish* Religion, though at the same time he was come to put an end to those Ceremonies, being Master both of the Sabbath and of all the Laws. Yet would he never take upon him to exercise any Authority as to Civil affairs, no not so much as to Arbitrate a Difference between two Brothers. Being Interrogated by Authority, he severally answered his Judges according to what Properly fell under their Cognisance. To the High Priest, concerning his professing himself Christ and the Son of God; and to *Pilate*, concerning the Title of a King. He declared that his Kingdom was not of this World, and consequently that his Doctrine threatned no danger to the Publick, but as to Civil Government left all things as it found them. It would be too Presumptuous an Undertaking to pretend to display all his Vertues and Excellencies. 'Tis a subject in which thought could never come to an end, and those Pious Souls

Luk. 19. 41.

Mat. 12. 8.

Luk. 12. 14.

who apply themſelves to a cloſe and intent Meditation upon the Goſpel, do ſtill diſcover freſh Wonders in it. Let me juſt add a Word or two concerning his Paſſion, where as the example was ſingularly Great and Extraordinary, ſo are we nearly concerned in the Vertues it teaches; the Vertues of knowing how to bear Sufferings; a Tryal we can ſcarce live in the World and Eſcape.

The Sorrowful Eſtate into which Jeſus Chriſt was reduced in the Garden of *Olives*, Sufficiently proves that he was Subject to the like Natural Paſſions of Fear and Grief with other Men, and that therefore 'twas not Inſenſibility but Reſolution that carryed him through his Sufferings. He bore them all with an Invincible Conſtancy, without making any Defence, without Reſiſting, without Refuſing to ſubmit to whatſoever his Tormenters laid upon him: Immovable as a Rock he received all their Scourgings and Outrages. His Silence was ſuch as made his Perſecutors themſelves admire. He who with a Word Speaking could have confounded his Accuſers, the falſe Witneſſes, and his Judges themſelves; yet he opened not his Mouth, and that becauſe he knew they were not diſpoſed to hear any thing in his Juſtification. Upon the Croſs it ſelf, and under the laſt

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Agonies of his Suffering, he ſtill Maintains the ſame firmneſs of mind, the ſame Freedome, nay the ſame Tranquillity of Spirit. He Prayed for them that put him to Death; he recompenced the Faith of the good Thief; he took care to provide for his diſconſolate Mother; he fully accompliſhed the Prophecies; he recommended his Spirit to God.

The Apoſtles after their having receiv'd the Holy Ghoſt appeared in the World as ſo many Living Images of Jeſus Chriſt, and as it were Tranſcripts of that Original, according to which the Faithful were to form themſelves. Nor do they ſtick to declare as much. *Be ye followers of me ſaith St.* Paul *even as I am of Chriſt,* 1 *Cor.* 11. 1. and again. *Be followers together of me and mark them which walk ſo as ye have us for an enſample.* *Phil.* 3. 17

So that though they diligently applyed themſelves to Teaching, they did it more by their Examples than by their Diſcourſes. Among the Faithful the Apoſtles choſe out ſome ſelect Perſons whom they made their Diſciples, and upon whom they beſtowed more full and diſtinct Inſtructions, uſing them as they themſelves had been uſed by Jeſus Chriſt. Theſe their Diſciples in particular, always attended their Perſons, living in the ſame Houſe with them, Eating at the ſame Table,

and Lodging in the ſame Room: At leaſt tis after this manner, that the Author of the Recognitions deſcribes *St. Peter* to have Lived with his Diſciples. Nor is this Tradition (as will afterwards appear) lightly to be rejected. Theſe Diſciples accompanied the Apoſtles in their Travels, and as new Churches were eſtabliſhed had the Government of them committed into their Hands

Thus we find *St. Peter* attended by St. *Mark* whom he calls his Son; by St. *Clement*, ſo famous throughout all the Churches; St *Evodius* who ſucceeded him at *Antioch*; St. *Linus* and St. *Cletus* who ſucceeded him at *Rome*. With St. *Paul* we find St. *Luke*, St. *Titus*, St. *Timothy*, and the ſame St. *Clement*. With the Apoſtle St. *John*, we find St. *Polycarp* and St. *Papias*. Theſe Saints took care to preſerve the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, rather in their Memory than in writing, and to teach it more by their Practices than by their Diſcourſes. And thus imitating their Maſters, they made themſelves as St. *Paul* expreſſes it, the examples of Believers, in Word, in Works, in Faith, in Charity, in Purity, in Gravity, and in all manner of holy Converſation. Beſides theſe Diſciples, after the ſame manner took to themſelves other Diſciples, whom they formed and Diſciplined as they themſelves had been

1 Pet. 5. 13.

Euſeb. 3. *hiſt* c. 38.

1 Tim. 4. 12.

Tit. 2. 7.

been by the Apoſtles; Qualifying and Capacitating them alſo to do the like to others. This is the charge given by St. *Paul* to *Timothy*. *The things which thou haſt heard of me, among many Witneſſes; the ſame commit thou to faithful Men, who ſhall be able to teach others alſo.* 2 Tim. 2. 2

But to return to thoſe that were taught and governed immediately by the Apoſtles themſelves; and particularly, to this Church of *Jeruſalem*; which Jeſus Chriſt had begun with his own Hands, to build upon the Foundation of the Synagogue, and which was not only the Example but alſo the root and Original of all others: Let us ſee therefore after what manner the Scripture deſcribes unto us theſe firſt Believers.

They continued ſtedfaſtly in the Apoſtles Doctrine and fellowſhip, and in breaking of Bread, and in Prayers. All that believed were together, and had all things common, and ſold their Poſſeſſions and Goods, and parted them to all Men, as every Man had need. They continued daily with one accord in the Temple, and breaking bread from Houſe to Houſe, they did eat their Meat with gladneſs and ſingleneſs of heart, Praiſing God, and having favour with all the people; and again, *The multitude of them that believed, were of one Heart, and of one Soul: Neither ſaid any of them, that ought of the things he poſ-* Act. 2. 42. Ibid. 43. Act. 4. 35.

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ſed was his own, but they had all things in
Ibid. 34, &c. *common. Neither was there any among them that lacked: for as many as had Poſſeſſions of Lands or Houſes, ſold them, and brought the prices of the things that were ſold, and laid them down at the Apoſtles Feet: and diſtribution was made unto every Man according*
Acts 5. 12. *as he need. And by the Hands of the Apoſtles were many Signs and Wonders wrought amongſt the People: and they were all with one accord in* Solomon's *Porch. And of the reſt durſt no Man join himſelf to them: but the People magnified them. And believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of Men and Women.*

The ſumm of which deſcription may be reduced to theſe following Heads; amongſt themſelves, Preaching, Praying, Communion, mutual Affection, Communication of Goods, inward Satisfaction; and from without, the Reſpect, Eſteem and Favour of the People. This firſt Church was compoſed of Perſons of every Sex and Condition, and grew quickly very numerous: For there were three thouſand Converted at the firſt preaching of St. *Peter*, and five thouſand at a ſecond. It is ſaid more than once, that the number of Believers encreaſed every Day; and one paſſage there is, that ſeems to imply, as if there were many *ten thouſands* of them. They were the greateſt part of them married

Acts 21. 20 *many* thouſand, *'tis in the Original* Myriads.

ried Perſons. (abſolute Continence being a thing rarely practiced in thoſe Days) They lived ſeparately; for 'tis ſaid, they went from houſe to houſe breaking bread, that is, Conſecrating and diſtributing the Holy Euchariſt; yet they lived in common, reducing all they had into ready mony which at firſt the Apoſtles, and afterwards the ſeven Deacons diſtributed to every one according to his need; and with ſuch fidelity and diſcretion did they manage this affair, that there were no Poor amongſt them.

Here therefore was to be ſeen a viſible and real Example of that Communication of Goods, and living in common, which the old Legiſlators and Philoſophers looked upon as the moſt proper means of making mankind happy; but without ever being able to bring it into practice: 'Twas to compaſs this, and that *Minos* in the firſt times of *Greece* would have eſtabliſhed in *Creet* his *Tabulæ Communes*, and that *Lycurgus* took ſuch Precautions to baniſh from among the *Lacedæmonians* all excels, and the uſe of Riches. But *Plato* puſhes his Idea of Community a little too far, when to leave nothing uncommon, he was for taking away the diſtinction of Families. They well ſaw, that to make a perfect Society, there muſt be left no *Meum* and *Tuum*, no room for private aud ſe-

Ariſt. polit. lib. 2.

pa-

parate Intereſts. But they could onely make uſe of Penalties to conſtrain, or Arguments to perſwade Men to accept of their Regulations; and therefore all their labour was in vain. 'Twas only the Grace of Jeſus Chriſt that could change the Hearts of Men, and cure the corruption of their Natures.

Thus this Communication of Goods among theſe Chriſtians of *Jeruſalem*, was the pure effect of that ſingular Charity with which the Goſpel had inſpired them, which made them all Brethren to each other, and as it were of one and the ſame Family; where out of one and the ſame Eſtate, the Father provides for all his Children, and loving them all equally, ſuffers none of them to want. They had always before their Eyes the Commandment of Jeſus Chriſt, of loving one another, ſo often repeated by him, and particularly the night before he ſuffered, making this the diſtinguiſhing Character by which all men were to know that they were his Diſciples. But that which obliged them to ſell their Poſ-
Joh. 13 35. ſeſſions, and reduce all into ready Mony, was our Saviour's Command of forſaking all that they had; which they practiſed not only in the inward diſpoſition of the Heart, in which terminates the obligation of this Precept, but in reality of Fact, according to that Counſel of our Saviour

If

If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell all that thou hast, and come and follow me. For a man more effectually secures himself from being incumbred with the things of this Life, if he really parts with them, than he can be while he keeps them in his Hands. Besides they considered that our Saviour had foretold the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and that he had limited the time of it to be before that Generation should pass away; which made them willingly clear themselves of all the concerns they had, either in that accursed City it self, or in the Country belonging to it, devoted to Destruction. Ma. 12. 21. Aug. *de Catech. Rud.* C. 23. Ma. 24. 34.

So that the Believers living in common, was a practice peculiar to the first Church of *Jerusalem*, and suitable to the condition of those times and Persons. For it would have been an hard matter, at least Humanly speaking, for so numerous a Church to have long Subsisted without the support of some fixed Fund and Revenues that were certain; and by the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. *Paul* we see, that during the short time of its continuance, it stood in need of Relief from other Churches, and that out of all the Provinces there were remitted considerable summs for the use of the Saints at *Jerusalem*. And yet St. *Chrysostom* so long time after sticks not to propose this *Act.* 24. 17. 1 *Cor.* 16. 3. *Hom.* 11. *in Act.*

Ex-

Example of Believers living in Common as a thing ſtill Practicable, and as a means of converting all the Infidels. 'Tis to be ſuppoſed that theſe Saints of *Jeruſalem* Laboured with their own Hands, ſince in ſo doing they did but follow the moſt perfect examples of Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles; nor can we ſuppoſe any thing too perfect of them: And this was alſo a conſiderable means of ſupplying their want of fixed Revenues.

'Tis ſaid that they continued ſtedfaſt in the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, and they are commonly called by the Name of Diſciples, from their applying themſelves to the Learning of the Doctrine of Salvation; both by hearing the Apoſtles, who made frequent Diſcourſes to them, and diligently Inſtructed them both in Publick and Private, delivering to them the ſame ſaving Truths, they themſelves had received from the Lord: And likewiſe in reading the Holy Scriptures and conferring upon them among themſelves, 'Tis added that they continued in Prayer, and that they went Dayly to the Temple, aſſembling themſelves in *Solomon's* Porch, and there with one accord joyning in Prayer. The Example of St. *Peter* and St. *John* going up together into the Temple at the hour of Prayer, being the Ninth hour, makes it probable, that they then obſerved the ſame

Act. 3. 1.

hours

hours of Prayers which the Church hath always since kept to. As to their outward way of living, they conformed themselves to the rest of the *Jews*, observing all the Ceremonies of the Law, even to the Offering of Sacrifices; which they continued to do as long as the Temple was standing: And this is what the Fathers called, Giving the Synagogue an honourable Interment. *Baron. an.* 34. 12. 250. *Aug. ep.* 19.

After Prayer the Scripture takes notice of the breaking of Bread, by which there, as in several other Places of the New-Testament, is signifyed the Eucharist. They Celebrated this Mystery not in the Temple, where they could not be at liberty enough to do it, and where the Christians were intermixed with the *Jews*; but in private Houses with onely the Faithful amongst themselves. It was attended, as the Peace-Offerings under the Law, with a Repast; the use of which continued for a long time amongst Christians under the Name of *Agapæ*, which Word signifies Love, as much as to say, Love-Feasts. It is said, that these Feasts were accompanyed with Gladness and singleness of Heart. And indeed all the Faithful by their Humility, Simplicity and Purity of Heart were as so many little Children; Innocent and Inoffensive. And by their renouncing the vain hopes and Enjoy-

joyments of this Life, they cut off all occasions of Vexatious and Disquieting Passions, as leaving no matter for them to work upon, and having their Thoughts wholly taken up with the hopes of Heaven, and the expectation of the Kingdom of Christ, which they looked upon as very near at hand. And if we cannot without wonder so much as Read that little which the Scripture hath left to us in Writing concerning the first Church, we may easily imagine how much they must have been beloved and admired by those who were the Spectators of their Vertues.

This first Church Subsisted at *Jerusalem* for near the space of forty Years under the Direction of the Apostles, and particularly of St. *James* their Bishop; till the Christians seeing, according to the Predictions of our Saviour, the Judgments denounced against that unhappy City near approaching, Seperated themselves from the Unbelieving *Jews*, and retired to the little City of *Pella*, where they enjoyed a safe retreat, during the Siege of *Jerusalem*.

IN

II. PART.

The time of the Persecutions. The state of the *Gentiles* before their Conversion.

IN the mean time there were formed several other Churches in divers parts of the World, Composed both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*; which though they came not up to this height of Perfection, yet were great Examples of Vertue and Holiness; especially if we consider the state of the *Gentiles* before their Conversion.

They who are unacquainted with the History of past Ages are apt to imagine, that the Men who lived in the World sixteen hundred Years ago were more simple, more innocent, and more easily nstructed than are the Men of this Generation: And that because they have heard say, that the World is in a state of Declension and grows worse and worse; and because they still see the marks of the Simplicity and easie Temper of our honest Fore-Fathers. But they who have made any Reflection on the Writings left us by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, plainly see the contrary. The Preaching of the Gospel began under the Reigns of the Emperors *Claudius* and *Nero*. What kind of Courts these Emperors had, and the Vices that there Reigned we may see in *Tacitus*: The Manners and practices of the same Age are to be seen in *Horace*, in *Juvenal*, in *Martial*, and in *Petronius*. That these Authors blushed not at the Infamous Impurities with which they have stuffed

their Writings, is becauſe the Men of that Age bluſhed not to commit them. They thought they might take the Liberty of Publickly expoſing what others as Publickly practiſed. And there ſeems to be a ſpecial Providence in it that theſe Books, otherwiſe ſo pernicious, ſhould be preſerved to us, to ſhew out of what an Abyſs of Corruption, Jeſus Chriſt recovered Mankind. We find the ſame *Ordures* in *Suetonius*, in the other Writers of the *Hiſtoria Auguſta* for the two Ages following, in *Lucian*, in *Apuleius*, in *Atheneus*, in a Word, in all the Authors who give us an account of their Manners. The Fathers themſelves upon this Subject are forced to uſe great openneſs and freedom of Speech, as amongſt the reſt St. *Auſtin*, *Tertullian*, St. *Clemens Alexandrinus*; ſo that, that frightful Catalogue of the Vices of the Heathen World, which St. *Paul* hath given us in the beginning of his Epiſtle to the *Romans* will not appear ſtrange.

Aug. Civit. ii. C. iv. *Cypr. ep.* i. *Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib.* ii.

This Corruption of Manners took its courſe through *Greece*, *Ægypt*, and the *Eaſt* to *Rome*. 'Tis but caſting ones Eyes upon *Ariſtophanes* to ſee to what height of Diſſolution the *Greeks* were even in thoſe Days arrived; and 'tis a thing but too certain that they did not after his time become more Wiſe; on the contrary, they made

made still farther Improvements in Luxury and Effeminacy. The Lives of the Kings of *Macedonia*, of *Ægypt*, and *Syria* furnished History with a New stock and variety of examples of the most monstrous Vices and Impurities. 'Tis well known for what *Alexandria*, *Antioch* and *Corinth* were famed, and how noted for their Voluptousness and Effeminacy were the Cities of *Jonia* and the *Lesser Asia*: Yet in the midst of this general Corruption was it, that Christianity took its Birth: 'twas in the midst of these very Cities that the most famous Churches were founded. This Dissolution was not onely Universal, overspreading the whole *Roman* Empire; but publick, open, avowed and Authorised, nay even Consecrated by their Religion its self. Learned Men know what were the *Ceremonies* of *Bacchus*, and *Cybele*. Wherever one passed one met with a *Venus*, an *Adonis*, a *Ganymede*, and a *Jupiter* in all Disguises. There was not a Garden or Orchard without the Idol of that Ridiculous God whom they made the Guardian of the Place. Their common Songs and Poems were upon the Amours of their Gods, and most of their Publick Spectacles, were abominable Scenes either of Impurity or Cruelty.

The ordinary Divertiſements of the *Roman* People were to force Men to fight and Murder one another, or to ſee them torn to pieces by Wild Beaſts: Frequently upon the moſt trifling occaſions, they put their Slaves to the Rack, and to the moſt horrible Tortures. The Governours of Provinces did often exerciſe exceſſive Cruelties upon ſuch as were not *Romans*. The Emperors put to Death whomſoever they pleaſed, without any Form of Law, ſo that bad Princes ſpilt a great deal of Blood, even of the moſt Noble *Romane* themſelves. Nor was their Avarice inferior to their Cruelty. All the World Groaned under their Frauds, Perjuries, Falſities, unjuſt proſecutions and violent Oppreſſions; of all which, we need no other proof than *Cicero's* Orations. If in the time of the Republick, *Verres* in one Province, in the ſpace of three Years, committed ſo many Enormities, what muſt have been done throughout the whole Empire under *Nero* or *Domitian* by the many Governours, choſen out of their own Favourites, who were in no fear of being called to account, but on the contrary, both encouraged by the Example and ſupported by the Authority of their Princes? But I fear I ſpend too many Words upon a thing too evident in its ſelf.

V. Juv. Sat. viii.

Such

Such then were those out of whom were made those Christians I am going to describe. When once they were washed and Sanctifyed, they were no longer the same Creatures they had been before: Yet not to conceal that Good that was in them, we must not disown but that there were in many of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, some kind of hopeful Dispositions and Tendencies towards Vertue. 1 *Cor.* vi. xi.

—In the first place, they had much of that Politeness that necessarily carries along with it many good qualities, ~~which we may call superficial Vertues;~~ as Gravity, Pacience and Obligingness in Conversation, Complaisance, Chearfulness, and a lively way of expressing their Esteem or Affection, with a true sence of *Decorum* and decency in every Action, of which the *Greeks* were compleat Masters. All this a Man may have without solid Vertue, or be wanting in these things without being an ill Man, or a vicious Person: And yet Vertue seems not Compleatly perfect without this exteriour Dress to recommend her Beauty, and set her off to advantage. Besides this, there were amongst them, the *Greeks* especially, many true Philosophers, that is to say, Persons who did in good earnest, and with the utmost powers of their Reason seek after the means of becoming Happy; who se-

Recognit. Clem. init. *Justin. in Tryph. init.*

riously laboured to come to the Knowledge of the Truth, who honestly applyed themselves to the practice of Vertue according to the best of their knowledge; and who to pursue this study, renounced all other Interests and Engagments, sparing neither Cost, nor Labour, nor Travails to attain to the knowledge of those things which they accounted the most excellent. Nor were the *Romans* so universally Degenerate, but that there were many among them who maintained that Generosity, that Greatness of Soul, that Constancy and firmness of Mind, and other such like Vertues for which their Ancestors were so Renowned,

The Grace of the Gospel being superadded to these happy dispositions of Nature, could not but produce admirable Effects. St. *Cornelius*, the first of the Gentiles that received this Grace, was a *Roman* Captain. The bravery of the *Roman* spirit appears in many of the glorious Martyrs, as St. *Laurence*, St. *Vincent*, St. *Sebastian*, and in many great Bishops; as St. *Cyprian*, St. *Ambrose*, St. *Leo*, &c. As for the Gravity of the *Greek* Philosophers, one may see it in the Acts of S. *Polycarp*, in those of St *Pionius*, Priest of *Smyrna*; and in the Writings of St. *Justin* and St. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and in the same writings we also find a vast reach of Learning, joined with

with the fineſt Politeneſs. The Humility of a Chriſtian having qualified the haughty Air of the *Romans*, and the ſcornful Pride of the Philoſophers, made of them true Sages: Faith having once diſcovered to them the true end upon which they ought to fix, from that time forward they minded nothing elſe. Theſe Perſons (even in their Gentile ſtate) ſo improved, and refin'd being now by the grace of the Goſpel further cleanſed from all their Impurities, and having learnt to be ſincere, became alſo Gentle, Meek and Peaceable, without Artifice and Diſguiſe.

Thus the Chriſtian Religion eſtabliſhed its ſelf in the midſt of the *Roman* Empire, and in *Rome* its ſelf, when it was in its moſt flouriſhing Condition, in the moſt enlightened Age that ever was; and at the ſame time the moſt corrupt. Nor could the Divinity of the Goſpel more glorioufly have diſplayed its Power, than in triumphing over thoſe two diſpoſitions in Man, that are moſt oppoſite to it; that is Vanity of Knowledge and Corruption of Manners; ſo victorioufly carrying on its Progreſſe in the World; while on the one hand Science, an exalted Underſtanding reſiſted the ſimplicity of its Doctrine; and the Humility of Faith, on the other, Depravity of Heart, and corruption of Manners, oppoſed the purity of its Mo-

rals, and the ſeverity of its practices. This was neceſſary to be the more particularly inſiſted on, that none may imagine as if the Apoſtles had to do with only a Groſs heavy ſort of People, that might eaſily be made to believe any thing that was told them. And this Conſideration hath *Tertullian* long ſince urged againſt the Heathens *'Twas not* (ſays he) *with Jeſus Chriſt as with* Numa. *He had a rough unhewn ſort of People to deal with, ſtupid and eaſy be to impoſed on; and therefore to tame and break them into ſome kind of Diſcipline, invented a Religion ſuited to their groſs Capacities, and proper to ſerve his ends; embarreſſed them with a multitude of Deities, and preſcribing a number of Ceremonies, by which he aſſured them of their Favour. But Jeſus Chriſt coming into the World, when Learning was at its height, when Men were blinded with too much Wiſdom, and Knowledge was their Diſeaes; even then opened their Eyes to the diſcerning of the Truth, and made Faith to Triumph over Philoſophy.*

Apol. c. 21.

IV. THE Method they uſed in Preaching the Goſpel, was different, according to the different Diſpoſitions of the Perſons they had to deal with. The *Jews* they preſſed with the Prophecies, and other proofs taken from the Scripture, and with their own Traditions. The Gentiles they managed

Preaching, teaching and Baptiſm.

Ambroſ in Luc 9. 21. lib. 6. c. ult.

ged by Arguments and Ratiocinations; and those sometimes more plain and simple, sometimes more subtil and elaborate, variously Accommodating themselves to their Capacities; and therefore frequently urging against them the Authorities of their own admired Poets and Philosophers. Miracles raised the attention, and had equal force upon both *Jews* and *Gentiles*. The Acts of the Apostles furnished us with Examples of all these different kinds of Preaching. They spoke of the things of God only to those that heard them with seriousness and attention. As soon as they perceived the Infidels to grow weary of their Discourses, or (as it often happened) begin to laugh at them; the Christians presently broke off, and said no more; least they should profane Holy things, and give occasion to the Heathen to Blaspheme. In time they began to publish some Writings, to shew the Heathens upon what weak Foundations the Pagan Worship stood, and disengage them from their Prejudices; such are St. *Justin Martyr's Admonition* to the Gentiles, and that of St. *Clemens Alexandrinus*. But that by which they most prevailed, was Miracles, (yet frequently in the Church) the holy Lives of Christians, and their constancy in suffering Martyrdom.

Act. ii. xiv. iii. xii. xiii. xvi. xiv. xiv. xvii. xxii.

Cle. Recog. I.

Just. *in Tryph.*

When

When any one desired to become a Christian, they lead him to the Bishop, or to some Priest, who in the first place took him into Examination, to see whether his Profession was sincere and well grounded: For sometimes they were imposed upon by Impostors, who pretended themselves Converts only to ensnare the Christians, and betray them to their Persecutors. Besides they were afraid of charging themselves with weak and unstable Souls, who might by their falling away upon the first Tryal of Persecution, dishonour the Church. After all these precautions, they carefully instructed the *Catechumen* in all the Principles of Religion, but chiefly in the Practices of it; that he might know before Hand how he was to govern himself after his Baptism. To teach these Rules of good Living, is the subject of the *Pædagogus* of St. *Clemens*, who succeeded St. *Pantenus* the Philosopher, in the School of *Alexandria*; that is, in the Office of Instructing those who were disposed to turn Christians. St. *Clemens* was succeeded in the same charge by *Origen*; who to ease himself of part of the burden, took to his assistance St. *Heraclas*, committing to his care the new comers to be initiated in the first Rudiments of Religion.

Acta. S. S. Hippol. & Eus. ap. baron. an. n. xii.

Orig. Contr Cels. 8.

Euseb. 6. Hist. 15.

When

When the Bishop judged the Catechumens sufficiently instructed and approved, he admitted them to Baptism; this was done (if they could chuse the time) on Easter or Whitsunday Eve: But if there were any pressing Occasions, (as when the Persecution was on foot,) they Baptised at any time; yet they had then also their Baptisteries Consecrated to this use, and took care to prepare the Catechumen; obliging him to fast the whole Day before he was Baptized, Interrogating him, and making him give an account of his Faith. After Baptism, the Bishop immediately Confirmed him; and at the same time offered the holy Sacrifice, and gave him the Communion; and caused him to eat of the Blessed Milk and Hony, in token of his Spiritual Infancy, and entrance into the true Land of Promise; that is the Church. They Baptised the Children of Believers, whensoever their Parents presented them, tho' under the years of Discretion, and even before the eighth Day; and generally chose to give them the Names of the Apostles, or of other Persons that had been remarkable for their Piety. But as for Persons Adult it doth not appear that they changed their names; since we meet with so many Saints, whose names came from the false Gods, as *Dionysius*, *Martinus*, *Bacchus*, *Deme-*

Acta S. Cornelii P. ap. Bar. an. 255. *n.* 60.

Acta SS. Hippoly. & Eus. sup. n. x, xi.

Acta S. Steph. P. P. ap. Bar. an. 259. *n.* 2.

Acta S. Sus. an. 194 9. 12. Tertul. i. *in Marcion. c.* xiv.

S. Cypr.

Dionys. Al. ap Eus. lib. 7. *c.* 20.

Demetrius. The new Baptiſed were afterwards aſſiſted by thoſe who had preſented them to Baptiſm; as alſo by the Prieſts, who for a long time after, overlooked them that they might improve in the practice of Chriſtianity.

V.

The Chriſtian Life.

AND now they began a new Life, a Life altogether Spiritual and ſuper-natural. The firſt and principal thing to which they applied themſelves was Prayer, as being that which St. *Paul* alſo in the firſt place recommended. And as the Apoſtle according to the Precept of Jeſus Chriſt, exhorts Chriſtians to pray without ceaſing; ſo they avoided as much as was poſſible all Avocations that might interrupt their Devotions, or take off the Soul from God and Heavenly things. They Prayed as often as they could in Common; as believing that the more they were, who joined together in puting up the ſame Petitions to God, the more prevailing would they prove to obtain the grant of them; according to that ſaying of our Saviour, *If two of you ſhall agree on Earth, as touching any thing that they ſhall ask, it ſhall be done for them of my Father which is in Heaven: For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midſt of them.* Beſides, the preſence of their Paſtors gave more ſolemnity to their Prayers, and the

Prayer.

1 *Tim.* 2. 8.

1 *Theſ.* v. xvii.

Ignat. Ep. ad Epheſ. & al.

Tertul. *Apol. c* 39.

Mat. xviii. xviii, xix.

reci-

reciprocal Examples of each others Fervour and Humility, mutually heightned their Devotions.

Of their Publick Prayers, the most usual and most frequented were those of Morning and Evening; now called *Matins* and *Vespers*. Thus were they taught to sanctify the beginning and ending of the Day, and not allowed to excuse themselves upon the pretence of Business; these Spiritual concerns being a business of that Importance, that all other ought to give place to it. The *Matins* or Morning service, now called *Lauds* from those *Hymns* there rehearsed, that seem to have succeeded in the room of the Morning Sacrifice of the old Law: It still continues one of the most solemn Parts of the Office, as appears by the Commemorations, the Lumiary, and the Incense. The *Vespers* stand in stead of the Evening Sacrifice, and were appointed to Sanctify the beginning of the Night. They are sometimes called the Prayer of the Lamps, being performed at the close of the Day, or toward Candle-light: And in the Hymns yet used in these *Vespers*, we find mention of Light, and of Supper, which generally followed soon after the end of these Prayers. Such as could not pay their attendance upon the Publick Prayers of the Church, as Persons Sick, Imprisoned, or Travelling met

Const. Ap. 2. 59.

Lucernarium.

O Lux. beata Trinit.

Lucis Creator Opt.

Conditor alme sid. Verg. mundi vespere.

Ad cænam Agni prov.

met together as many as could in Private; or if they were wholly alone; yet every one observed to make his Prayers at the stated Hours.

v. Baron. an 34. *n.* 251, *&c.* *Const. Ap.* 8. 34, 35, *&c.* *Tert. adv. Psych. c.* 10. *Cypr. de Orat. dom. in fine.* *Athan. de virg.*

For besides these *Matins* and *Vespers*, they had their Prayers also at the Third, Sixth, and Ninth Hours, and within Night. *Tertullian*, St. *Cyprian*, and St. *Athanasius* make express mention of all these Prayers, founding them upon Examples taken out of the Old and New-Testaments, and giving Mysterious Reasons for the several Appointments. These Hours were reckoned according to the usage of the *Romans*, who divided the whole Day from Sun-rising to Sun-setting into twelve Hours, equal in every Day; but unequal in the course of the Year, always changing their Proportions according to the length or shortness of the Days. The Night they also divided into twelve Hours, and four Parts, which they named watches or Stations; because in their Armies, the Guards were relieved but four times a Night; so that reducing their Hours to the present computation, and taking an Æquinoctial Day to do it by; the Prime or first Hour of the Day with them, begins at our Six at Morning, their Third at our Ninth, their Sixth at our Twelvth, their Ninth at our Three in the Afternoon, and their Twelvth at our Six

at

at Night: So that their daily Prayers returned every third Hour.

They had also their Midnight Prayers, according to the president set them by the Psalmist, and by St. *Paul* and *Silas*, who after having been Scourged and cast into Prison, were heard Praying and Singing Praises unto God at Midnight. *Turtullian* makes mention of this Night Prayer, St. *Cyprian* highly applauds it; and this practice of Watching unto Prayer, is recommended by all the Fathers as an excellent means of Mortifying the Flesh, and of lifting up the Soul to God more freely in that still Season. They were also taught to make the best use of their waking Intervals, in Meditating upon the Psalms and the Lord's Prayer; and every Morning, or when ever they were threatned with any danger, to repeat the Creed.

Bar. an. 51. *n.* 68, &c. *Ps.* 119. 62. *Act.* 16. 25. *Tertul.* 2. *ad uxor. c.* 4. *Cypr. de Or. in fine. Cle. Alex.* 2 *ped. c.* 9. *Chry.* Hom. 26. *in Acta.* 14. *in ep. Rom.*

In a Word, to take all occasions of making still fresh and fresh Applications to God, and to come as near as possibly they could, to the rule of Praying always; they had their particular Prayers for every action, taking their rule from the Words of St. *Paul*; 'whatsoever ye 'do in Word or Deed, do all in the name 'of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to 'God the Father by him. Thus all their Country labours, as Plowing the Ground, Sowing it, Reaping their Corn; gather-

Col. iii. vii.

ing

ing their Fruits, were all begun and ended with Prayer. The building of an Houſe; the entring to inhabit it; the making a piece of Cloath, or Suit of Cloths; the putting it on, and ſo of the reſt; even the moſt common Actions of Life were in like manner begun with Prayer. We have ſtill remaining in the Rituals, ſome of thoſe Prayers in ſeveral ſorts of Benedictions. The Salutation at the beginning of an Epiſtle, at the firſt Interview, or upon other ſuch like occaſions, was not only a Teſtimony of Friendſhip, but alſo a real Prayer. Upon all the moſt inconſiderabe occaſions, they made uſe of the ſign of the Croſs, as being a more compendious way of a Prayer and Bleſſing. They Croſſed themſelves upon the Forehead, and that almoſt every Minute; at every coming in, and going out; beginning a walk, ſitting down, riſing up, going to Bed at Night, dreſſing themſelves in the Morning, putting on their Shoos, Eating, Drinking, *&c.* Upon any Temptation, they added to it the Sufflation, to drive away the Devil.

Chryſ. Hom v in Ep. ad Theſſ.

Tertul. de. Cor. c. iii.

St. Cyr. Hieroſol. Catech. iv. de. Aſcens. et xiii. circa. fin.

Tertull ad uxor. v.

Martyrol. Rom. xii. Janu. de S. Satyro.

VI.

The Study of the holy Scriptures.

THE greateſt part of their Prayers was made up of the Pſalms, which being Pronounced with a Grave and diſtinct Voice were highly Inſtructive, as containing

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in them a kind of ſummary or Abridgment of what lyes more diſpers'd in the other ſacred Books, and ſupplying a collection of thoſe thoughts and reflexions which a Man ſhould make in every condition of Life and upon every Emergency. With the Pſalms they always joyned the reading of ſome other parts of Scripture, and from thence came in the little Chapters of the Hours. As the Night Prayers were always the Longeſt, ſo they had more *Leſſons* belonging to them: And as the Maſs is the moſt ſolemn part of all the Office, ſo it is that which had more of the Inſtructive part mixed with the Devotional. Nothing was read in the Church as Scripture and of Divine Inſpiration but what was received into the Canon; that is to ſay, ſuch as the Conſtant Tradition of the Churches had Authoriſed. Thoſe other Writings which ſome Private Perſons would have introduced where called Apocryphal, that is, hidden or obſcure. To ſecure the Eccleſiaſtical Books from all change, and that neither the Boldneſs nor careleſſneſs of the Tranſcribers, might make any Alterations in them, there was ſometimes Joyned to them a Proteſtation Conjuring in the name of God, whoſoever ſhould Tranſcribe the Writing to do it Faithfully. Such an one did St. *Irenæus* add to the

Athanas. Epiſt. ad Marcellin.

Euseb. Hist. v. xx. end of his Epistle to *Florinus*, and of the the like nature is that Menacing Clause affixed to the Apocalyps.

Apoc. xxii. 18.

The Church therefore was not only the House of Prayer, but the School of Salvation. The Bishops expounded to the People the Gospel and the other sacred Books, with the diligence of a publick Professor, but with far greater Authority. And therefore in the Stile of the Ancients the Title of Doctor, that is Teacher, is scarce given to any but Bishops. They Instructed their Flock both Publickly in the Congregation of the Faithful, and

Act. xx. 20. Privately, going (as was St. *Pauls* own Practise) from House to House: And as the same Apostle directs in his Epistles to *Titus* and *Timothy*, they variously ap-

Ignat. Ep. ad Polycarp. plyed their Instructions to the several conditions of Men. They professed that they

Tertull. Præscr. c. viii. Spake nothing of themselves, that they kept to what was revealed; not pretending to make new discoveries after the Gospel, but Faithfully to Deliver to others

St. Iren. ad Florin. ap. Eus. v. *Hist.* 20. what they themselves had received from their Fathers, that is, from the most Ancient Priests and Bishops living within the

St. Clem. Al. Strom. init. memory of Man, and they in like manner from others before them, and so backward by an uninterrupted Tradition, ascending up to the Apostles themselves. They Imprinted in the minds of the Faithful

ful, an Abhorrence for all kind of Novelties, more Especially in the Doctrinals of Religion: So that if any private Persons heard any thing contrary to the Faith, they never amused themselves about contradicting or confuting it; that care they left to their Pastors: They only stopped their Ears against it, and would have nothing to do with it. And this is the reason why so many Heresies, which started up in the first Ages, were silenced and came to nothing without the Interposing of Councils, or any formal proceedings of the Church against them. The Catholick Pastors unanimously consented in the same Traditions, and the People inviolably adhered to the Doctrine of their Pastors.

Pap. apud Eus. Hist. iii. c. 38.

Ignat. ep. ad Trall. et al.

* The Faithful studyed the Word of God in private every one by him self, meditating upon it both Day and Night. They used to read over again in their Houses what they had heard read at the Church, to fix in their Memories the expositions of the Pastors, and to discourse them over among themselves. Above all, the Fathers of Families took care to make these Repetitions to their Domesticks. For every Master of a Family was within the Walls of his own House as it were a private Pastor, keeping up therein a regular Course of Praying and

Const. Apost. iv. c. 10.

Reading; inſtructing his Wife, Children and Servants; and in a plain and familiar way Adminiſtring proper Exhortations to them; and thus preſerving all that belonged to him in the Unity of the Church, by the entire Submiſſion, he himſelf paid to his Paſtor. What I have ſaid of Fathers is alſo to be underſtood of Mothers, who took the ſame Religious care of their Children. St. *Baſil*, and his Brother St. *Gregory Nyſſene*, Glory in their having kept the Faith, which they received from their Grand-Mother *Macrina*, and ſhe from St. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*. And it ſeems to be upon this account that St. *Paul* gives ſo particular a Character of the Faith of the Mother and Grand-Mother of St. *Timothy*. One proof of the ſpecial care that Parents took in the well inſtructing their Families, is that we do not find in all Antiquity any ſuch thing as a Catechiſm for little Children, nor any publick proviſion made for the Inſtruction of thoſe that were Baptiſed before they came to Years of Diſcretion. Every private Houſe was then, ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*, as a Church to it ſelf.

Baſil. *Epiſt.* Lxiv. Lxxv. Lxxix.

Greg. *Vita Macr. jun.*

2 Tim. i. 5.

Chryſ. *Hom.* xxxvi. *in Ep. ad Cor.*

There were even many Lay Chriſtians that had the Holy Scripture by heart; ſo conſtant were they in the Reading of it. They generally carryed a Bible about them, making it their Companion where

ever

ever they went; and many Saints have been found Buryed with the Goſpel lying on their Breaſts. St. *Chryſoſtom* tells us that in his time, many Women wore it hanging at their Necks: That they waſhed their Hands, when they received thoſe Holy Books: That every one expreſſed his inward Regard for them by the tokens of external Reverence, at the Reading and Hearing of them, the Men uncovering their Heads, and the Women (ſuch was their way of expreſſing Reverence) covering theirs. For Women read the Scriptures no leſs then Men. We find ſome of thoſe Holy Female Martyrs, who in the *Diocletian* Perſecution having been forced to quit all they had, and hide themſelves in Caves, Regretted nothing elſe but the loſs of their Bibles, and their being thereby deprived of thoſe Bleſſed Conſolations which they before enjoyed in exerciſing themſelves Day and Night, in thoſe ſacred Writings.

In Mat. Hom. Lxxii.

In Jo. Hom. Liii. *Mor.*

Acta SS. *Agapes, &c ap Bar. an.* 304. *n.* 46.

Beſides the Scriptures themſelves, the Chriſtians had alſo for their reading the Writings of their Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſtical Authors; plenty of whom, and thoſe of great Note, theſe firſt Ages produced. *Euſebius* gives us an account of about forty by name, beſides thoſe whoſe Works came forth without the name of the Author, and thoſe whom he

Euſeb. iv. *et* v. *Hiſt.*

only mentions in general. Not but that the greateſt part of the Biſhops of theſe times, declined Writing Books, out of Modeſty, for fear of divulging the Myſteries of their Religion, for want of Leiſure, and by reaſon of the Perſecutions, which ſuffered but a few of them, to Live any great Age. But many occaſions there were that forced ſome of them upon Writing, both concerning the affairs of the Churches, and in the defence of Religion againſt the *Hereticks* and *Pagans*. Beſides, there were ſo many Perſons of learning, ſo many Philoſophers and Orators, throughout the whole Empire, eſpecially in *Greece* and the *Eaſt*, that there were always found among the Chriſtians a great number of good Writers.

The Faithful were Adviſed to abſtain from reading the Books of the Heathens, ſince they might poſſibly overthrow the Faith of the Weak, and at beſt ſignified little. *For what, ſaith an ancient Author, would you have, which you may not meet with in the Word of God? If you are for Hiſtory; you have the Books of the Kings: If for Philoſophy and Poetry; you have the Prophets, the Book of* Job, *and the Proverbs of* Solomon; *where you will find more true Wit and Spirit, than in all the Poets and Philoſophers, becauſe they are the Words of God, who is Wiſedom its ſelf: If for Songs;*

Conſt. Apoſt. i. 5.

you

you have the Pſalms: If for Antiquities; Geneſes; *In a Word, the Glorious Law of the* Lord, *furniſhes you with all neceſſary, precepts and uſeful Directions.* Yet the Biſhops and Prieſts found it to their purpoſe, to read the profane Authors, and made good uſe of them in their Conteſts with the *Gentiles*, Fighting them with their own Weapons, the Authorities of their Poets and Philoſophers. They profeſſed to embrace all Truth, whence ſoever it came; and whereſoever they found it, they challenged it for their own, as being the Diſciples of Jeſus Chriſt who is the *Word*, that is to ſay, the ſovereign Reaſon.

Logos *St. Clem. Al. l. Strom.*

'T WAS principally to the Rich that they recommended the reading of the Scripture as their conſtant Employment, and a proper Remedy againſt the Sins of Idleneſs and Curioſity. As for others, they followed every one his Calling, that they might have where withal to maintain themſelves, pay their Debts, and give Alms. And they took care to chuſe ſuch callings as were moſt conſiſtent with Retirement and Humility. Many of their Rich ones reduced themſelves to a voluntary Poverty by diſtributing what they had among the Poor; eſpecially in times of Perſecution, thereby to put themſelves

VII. Their Employments, Occupations, and Profeſſions.

Conſt. A. poſt. i. iv.

in a readineſs for Martyrdom. The firſt Diſciples of the Apoſtles, who laboured together with them in the Propagation of the Goſpel, practiced the ſame Method; but for a nobler end. They ſold their Poſſeſſions, and gave the price of them to the Poor, that ſo they might be more diſengaged, and at liberty to quit their Country, Travel abroad, and carry the Goſpel into the moſt diſtant parts of the World. Many Chriſtians laboured with their Hands only to avoid the Sin of Idleneſs. For they were earneſtly exhorted to ſhun this particular Vice among many others, the inſeparable Companions of it; as a reſtleſs temper, Curioſity, Detraction, inſignificant Viſits, Gadding and Rambling, Prying into and Cenſuring the Actions of their Neighbours. On the contrary, all Perſons were adviſed to keep themſelves quiet and not meddle in other Mens matters, and to be employed upon ſome uſeful Buſineſs, but principally in the Works of Charity toward the Sick, the Poor, and all others whoſe Condition required their Aſſiſtance.

Euſ. iii. 17.

ii *Theſ.* iii. 6, &c.

Caſs. de Sp. Acced. c. vii. *Conſt. Ap.* i. iv. ii. *ult. Clem. Pædag.* iii. *c.* x.

The Chriſtians Life therefore, was a continued courſe of Prayer, Reading and Labour, which regularly ſucceeded one the other in their proper Hours, and ſuffered no other interuptions than juſt what the neceſſities of Life required. But what

Oc-

Occupation ſoever they followed, they always made it but as a by-work in compariſon of Religion, which they look'd upon as their main concern, and that one thing needful about which they were to be imployed all the Days of their Life. They pretended not to any particular Profeſſion or Denomination; but purely and ſimply to be Chriſtians. They owned no other Title or Character but that; and when the Judge Interrogated them concerning their name, their Country, their Quality; their anſwer to all was, *I am a Chriſtian.* *Conſt. Ap.* ii. 61. 63.

They liked not ſuch Employments as too much buſy and diſſipate the Thoughts, as Merchandizing, Soliciting of Buſineſs, bearing Publick Offices: Yet they always continued in the Callings they followed before their Baptiſm, if there were nothing in them inconſiſtent with Religion. Thus Soldiers were not upon their turning Chriſtians obliged to quit the Service; they were only taught to obſerve the Soldier's Rule laid down in the Goſpel; to be content with their Wages, and to abſtain from Fraud and Violence. There were a great number of Chriſtians that bore Arms; Witneſs the *Legio Fulminans* in the time of *Marcus Aurelius*, and the *Theban* Legion, who all of them, togegether with their Tribune St. *Mauritius*, *Orig. Cont. Celſ.* viii. *in fin.* i *Cor.* vii. xx. *Tertul. de Cor.* c. xii. *Tert. Apol.* c. xxxvii. *Luk.* iii. 13.

Pati-

Patiently ſubmitted to Martyrdom; tho' with their Swords in their Hands. The old Military Diſcipline of the Romans, as yet continued in force, which conſiſted principally in Frugality, in Labour, in Obedience, in Patience; all of them Vertues proper for a Chriſtian to be Exerciſed in: Yet ſome of them refuſed to liſt themſelves, and others, already engaged quitted the Service, to avoid the joining with the Infidels in their Superſtitions; as the Eating of things Offered to Idols, the adoring the Enſigns, and in them the falſe Gods, whoſe Images they bore; the Swearing by the Genius of the Emperor, and Crowining themſelves with Flowers at their profane Solemnities.

Acta Mar. Theb. ap. Baron. an. ccxcvii.

Acta St. Marcelli. Centur. ap. Bar. an. ccxcviii. *n.* ii.

Tertul. de Corona.

VIII. Their Faſts.

THE Chriſtians Faſted often, according to what our Saviour had ſaid; That after he ſhould be taken from them, his Diſciples ſhould Faſt. From the very firſt Ages of Chriſtianity in Remembrance of this; that is, of the Paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, they had their fixed and ſolemn Faſts; as that of *Lent* for every Year; and of *Wedneſday* and *Friday* for every Week: They Faſted alſo for the Ordinations; and upon ſeveral other occaſions, when the Biſhops preſcribed Faſts for the publick Neceſſities; to ſay nothing now

Mat. ix. xv.

of

of their Pennances andparticular Devotions.

On their Faſts they eat but once a Day, and that not till towards the Evening; that is, in *Lent*, not till after the *Veſpers*, toward the beginning of the Night; and on other Days not till after three a Clock; and ſuch were their ordinary Faſts. They had alſo their greater Faſts; as that of the holy Week, the whole of which, many amonſt them paſſed without eating, at leaſt the three laſt Days of it. Many alſo out of their private Devotion kept their particular Faſts to themſelves, and abſtained from eating for two or three Days together; eſpecially upon great Occaſions, as when they prepared themſelves for Martyrdom: Some there were who paſſed whole Weeks or ten Days without taking any Food, as *Lucian* (an unſuſpected Witneſs in this Matter) aſſures us. All in general on their Faſt-Days abſtained from drinking Wine and eating Fleſh; the greateſt part fed only on Herbs or Pulſe, with a little Bread, others allowed themſelves little Fiſhes; but on thoſe Days never uſe any ſort of high Sauces or reliſhing Delicacies: They confined themſelves to cheap and Ordinary Diet, always expending leſs upon their Tables on Faſt-Days, then at other Seaſons. Some obſerved *Omophagy*; that is

v. Ep. Can. Dion. alex.

Luc. in Philopatr.

is to ſay, eating their Food raw and undreſſed; others *Xerophagy*; that is, feeding only upon dry Diets, as Nuts, Almonds and ſuch like Fruits; and others confined themſelves only to Bread and Water.

I know that Men will now a Days think themſelves little concerned with theſe Examples: They imagin that theſe ancient Auſterities are now become impracticable. The ſtrength of Nature, ſay they, is impaired by the courſe of ſo many Years: Men do not live ſo long now as they did of old; nor are their Bodies ſo Robuſt. But I would fain have them give ſome Proofs of this alteration; for we are not here ſpeaking of the Heroick times of antient *Greece*, nor of the Lives of the Patriarches, nor of thoſe who lived before the Flood: We are upon the times of the firſt *Roman* Emperors, and of the other *Greek* and *Latin* Writers, ſufficiently known to us. Let them drive the matter as far as they pleaſe, they will not be able to ſhew that the Life of Man hath been ſhortned for ſixteen hundred Years: From thence, and from a long time before, the Age of Man was limit-
Pſ. xc. x. ed to Threeſcore and ten, or fourſcore Years. In the firſt Age of Chriſtianity, though there were as yet ſome *Greeks* and

Romans

Romans who practiced the Gymnaſtick Exerciſes to preſerve their Bodies in good Health; yet there were more who enfeebled them by their exceſſes; particularly by thoſe kind of Debauches which tend moſt to the ruin of Health, and which ſtill make ſo many of the Eaſtern People grow old ſo long before their time. In the mean time, out of theſe moſt corrupted places, as *Ægypt* and *Syria*, came the greateſt Faſters, and theſe Perſons prolonged the term of their Lives beyond other Men. 'Tis true ſuch Faſting was a thing more eaſily practiced by the People of thoſe hot Countries, than it can be by us. And yet we find great Examples of Abſtinence, even in *Gaul*, and other colder Regions; and that more than a Thouſand Years after the Apoſtles; for the ancient Rule of Faſting (as we ſhall ſee hereafter) continued down to the time of St. *Bernard*.

The Chriſtians, as well as *Jews*, conſidered Faſting as a State of Affliction: 'Tis true, the *Jews* applied it to the ſatisfying the natural Paſſion of Grief; as when they faſted upon the loſs of ſome dear Friend or Relation; or upon any other misfortune purely Temporal: To the ſame purpoſe was it practiced by other Nations. And we find that the *Greeks* and *Romans*, together with other ſigns of

of Mourning, joined that of Fasting. But the Christians applied all to a Spiritual end; using these exteriour Testifications of Grief only as they tended to excite in them that Godly sorrow that worketh Repentance to Salvation; that is, to give them Compunction for their Sins. A sinner saith St. *Cyprian*, *ought to lament the Death of his Soul, at least as much as the loss of a Friend*; and St. *Chrysostom* makes use of the same Comparison. They considered Fasting also as a Preservative against Temptation by weakning the Flesh, and and bringing it into Subjection to the Spirit; and therefore with their Fastings, they Joyned the Abstaining from all sorts of Pleasures even the most Innocent. *Married Persons* during those Seasons, observed Continence. They all in general lived in greater Silence and Solitude, were more frequent in visiting the Churches, and spent more of their Hours in Reading and Praying on their Fast-Days than at other times.

2 Cor. vii. x.

Cypr. de Laps.

Chrys. de Compunct.

IX. Their Eating.

IN their Diet, and way of Eating, the Christians alwaies (even out of their Fast-Days) observed great Frugality and Moderation. They were taught not to Live to Eat, but to Eat to Live. That the end of Food being Health and Strength, and the keeping the Body in a condition fit

St. Clem. Alex. ii. *Paedag.* i.

fit for Labour; all beyond this was Superfluous and Excessive. Twas not therefore for a Christian to Study the Art of Eating, or to Indulge the wantonness of the Appetite; to hanker after curious Dishes, sumptuous Feasts, or those delicacies of the Palate which could not come to the Table, without the Assistance of skilful Cooks and the Science of the Kitchen. They applyed to themselves that saying of St. *Paul* in a literal Sence, and made a general Rule of it: *It is good neither to eat Flesh nor to drink Wine.* 1 Rom. xiv. xxi. Twas more especially to Women, and all young People; they prescribed the abstaining from Wine; and as for them that Drank it, they alwaies qualifyed it with Water. If they fed on Liveing Creatures, it was rather of Fish or Fowls, than of the grosser Substance of four-footed Beasts, which they looked upon as too Succulent and over Nourishing. But they alwaies abstained from Blood, and from things Strangled, according to the Decision of the Council of the Apostles which continued to be observed for many Ages; so that many of them lived only upon Sallads, Fruits or Pulse: Nay farther yet, many there were, who finding Pulse (as Peas, Beans and Lentils) too nourishing for them that would subdue the Flesh, reduced themselves to the liv-

Herm. ad Furiam. Clem. 2. Pædag. 2. Rud. Hymn ante cib.

Tertul. Ap. c. ix.

Acts xv. xxix.

Min. Fel.

ing

Olus. Rom. xiv. ii. ing ſimply on Herbs with a little Bread and Salt, taking the Words of St. *Paul* in a litteral Sence, *Another who is weak eateth Herbs.*

'Tis true, this Abſtinence was not a thing ſo Extraordinary in their Days as it would be in ours: For though the Luxury of the Table was then grown to great Exceſs, as one may ſee in the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers of thoſe times, particularly in *Athenæus*; yet it fell ſhort of that extravagance to which we have now advanced it. The Ægyptians and many other Orientaliſts ſtill kept up their Religious Abſtinences. The Abſtinence of the *Pythagoreans* was in great reputation, as appears by the Example of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, and by the Writings of *Porphyry*. *Horace*, as great an Epicurean as he was, names only ſome Pulſe and Herbs as his ordinary Diet, and inviting his Friend to Supper, Promiſes him no better Chear. The Emperor *Auguſtus* lived moſtly on Brown-Bread, Cheeſe, Figs, Dates, Raiſons, and ſmall Fiſh. One might produce a Multitude of like Examples. Their common uſage was to make but one ſet Meal a Day; and that at Night when all the Buſineſs of the Day was over, and every one was retired to his Home; this was their Supper or *Cæna*: For as for that which they called *Prandium*, it was ra-

Inde domum me Ad porri & ciceris refero laganique catinum. lib. i. *Sat.* 6.

Nec modica cænare times olus omne patella. i. *ep.* v.

Suet. in Aug. 76.

rather a Breakfast than a set Dinner, after the manner of our Dinners, since it was only a light repast to support Nature throughout the whole Day following; and many made no Dinner at all. 'Tis reckoned as an high instance of the Intemperance of the Emperor *Vitellius*, that he often made four Meals a Day, but always three.

Pransus non avide quintum interpellet inani ventre diem durare. Hor i. *lat.* vi.

Suet in Vitel. c. 13.

The Christians lived at least as regularly as the Heathens; I mean as the wisest among them, and used only a very simple Diet; rather of such things as did not require Fire or much dressing, than such as could not be eaten without being first prepared by Fire. They made at most but two Meals a Day; absolutely condemning (according to what the Apostles had taught them) those Revellings or Collations after Supper which were called Comessations; by means of which, the Nights were commonly passed away in Debauches. The Meal how simple and light soever it might be, both began and ended with long Prayers; And *Prudentius* hath composed two *Hymns* to this purpose; in which we may see the Spirit of these first Ages set forth in lively Colours.

Gal. v. 21.

Rom. xiii. 13.

i *Pet.* iv. 3.

Cathemer iii, iv.

It was in these times, a common Custome to have something read to them as they sat at Meals. *Pliny* always used it,

Pli. iii. *ep.* v. *Sat.* xi.

and *Juvenal* inviting one of his Friends to ſup with him, promiſes that he ſhould have *Homer* and *Virgil* Read to him at Table. Inſtead of thoſe profane Songs and Buffooneries with which the Heathens heightned the Pleaſure of their Entertainments. The Chriſtians at theirs, had the Holy Scriptures read to them, and the Singing of Spiritual Hymns, ſett to Grave and Compoſed Airs; For they were not againſt Muſick, nor did they condemn Mirth, provided it was an holy Joy and had God for its Object. They never eat together with Hereticks, or Perſons Excommunicated, nor ſo much as with the Catechumens: But with the Infidels they ſometimes did Eat and Converſe.

Clem. ii. *Pædag.* iv.

1 *Cor.* v. 10. 11. *ibid.* x. 27.

X.

The Modeſty, Gravity, and Seriouſneſs of Chriſtians

THE ſame Modeſty and Moderation did the Chriſtians maintain in all their Actions, and throughout the whole Courſe of their Lives. They ſought after no other greateneſs but the greateneſs and nobleneſs of Spirit, coveted no other Riches but their Spiritual Treaſure, the Riches of the inner Man. They could not approve of thoſe profuſe Extravagances which had been introduced into the World by the Prodigious Wealth of the *Roman* Empire, as the vaſt expences of their ſtately Buildings, and coſtly Fur-

Furniture; their Tables of Ivory, Bedsteads of Silver, and Hangings of Purple and Gold, Gold, and Silver Plate, enchased and ornamented with Precious Stones. *Clem. Alex.* ii. *Pædag.* iii.

When the Persecutors searched the Lodgings where St. *Domna*, a vast rich Virgin of *Nicomedia*, kept her self, and together with the Eunuch St. *Indus*, were shut up from the rest of the World; this was the rich Furniture they found in it: a Cross, the Acts of the Apostles, two Mats lying upon the Ground, an earthen Censer, a Lamp, a little Wooden-box where they kept the Holy Sacrament to Communicate themselves. *Acta. Martyr. Nicom. ap. Bar. an* 293.

With the like Modesty did the Christians decline all gaudy Habits, and above all the wearing of Silk; a Commodity in those Days so precious, that it was Sold for its weight in Gold: All over-costly Ornaments, as Rings beset with precious Stones, Jewels, and the like; Curled Locks, Perfumes and Unguents; the too frequent use of the Bath; and the too great Affectation of Modishness; in a Word, all that might tend to excite sensual desires, or gratify a voluptuous Inclination. *Prudentius*, as one of the first marks of the Conversion of St. *Cyprian*, observes the change of his outward Deportment, and the Neglect of his Dress. *Apollonius*, an *Clem. Alex.* ii. *Pædag.* S. xi. xii. *and* iii. i. ii. iii. *Const. Ap.* i. *c.* iii. *and* v. *c.* ix. *Peri. steph. Hymn.* xiii.

ancient Eccleſiaſtical Author, Writing a-
Ap. Euſeb. v. Hiſt. xviii. gainſt the *Montaniſts*, and ſpeaking of their pretended Prophets, thus reproves them. Tell me, ſaith he, doth a Prophet Dye his Hair? Doth he Paint his Eye-Brows? Doth he love gay Cloaths? Doth he play at Dice? Doth he lend upon Uſury? Let them Speak. Are theſe things Juſtifiable? For I can prove that they Practiſe them. An
Act. St. Sebaſt. apud Baron. an. 289. n. xvi. xvii. Holy Martyr to prove by matter of Fact, that a certain Impoſtor, who took upon him the name of a Chriſtian was no better than a Cheat; Repreſented to the Judges that this pretender Curled his Locks, Haunted the Barbers-Shops, looked too Affectingly upon the Women; Fed high, and ſmelt of Wine: Sufficient evidence that he could be no Chriſtian. As for their whole outward Garb, and what Figure they made in the World; the Chriſtians ſhewed themſelves very indifferent and Incurious, at leaſt very plain and Grave. Some of them quitted the common Habit, to take upon them
Tertull. *de Pall Euſeb. vi. Hiſt. xx.* that of the Philoſophers, as *Tertullian* and St. *Heraclas*, the Diſciple of Origen.

There were but few Divertiſements, which they would allow themſelves the uſe of. They were obliged to ſhun all the Publick Shews, whether of the *Theatre*, of the *Amphitheatre*, or of the *Circus*.

At

At the *Theatre* were acted Tragedies and Comedies, on the *Amphitheatre* were seen the Combating of the *Gladiators*, and the Fighting with Wild-Beasts, the *Circus*, was for the Racing of Chariots. All these Spectacles with the Heathens, made part of the Worship of the false Gods; which had been of its self sufficient to have kept the Christians from coming near them. But they considered them also as a Poisonous Fountain of Debauchery and Dissoluteness, that tended only to the Corruption of Manners. The *Theatre* was a School of Immodesty, the *Amphitheatre* of *Cruelty*, and the Plays fomented all sort of Passions. Even those of the *Circus*, which appeared the most Innocent, were detested by all the Fathers because of the Factions that there Reigned, and the Quarrels and Animosities every Day created by them, which often ended in Bloody Frayes. In short, they could not but disapprove of the vast Expences thrown away upon these Spectacles, the Idleness they cherished, the Indiscriminate Herding together of Men and Women at these publick Entertainments, and the suspicious Consequences of so Promiscuous and familiar an Interview.

Const. Apost. ii. Lxii *Tertull. de Spect.*

Augus. vi. *Confes. cap.* vii.

Clem. iii. *Pædag.* ii. Cypr. *de oper et Clem.*

The Christians condemned also Dice, and other such like sedentary Plays, looking upon the loss of time as but one of the least

Clem. Ped. iii. c. xi.

Apollon. ap. Euſeb. lib. v. c. xviii. least of the Miſchiefs that attend them. They cenſured intemperate Fits of Laughter and every thing that tended to raiſe them; as ridiculous Words or Actions, merry Tales, Buffoonerys, fooliſh Jeſtings, fantaſtick Tricks and Gambols. Much more did they Loath all kind of unſeemly Words or Geſtures, or ſuch which might ſavour of Immodeſty. They were for having a Chriſtian maintain the Dignity of his Character, and that therefore he ſhould take care in all his Behaviour, to diſcover nothing Indecent, Baſe or Unbecoming an Ingenuous Perſon: nor did they allow of thoſe unſavoury Diſcourſes, and unprofitable Tattle to which the meaner ſort of People, and eſpecially the Female Sex, are ſo much addicted; expreſsly condemned by St. *Paul*, when he directs that our Speech ſhould be always ſeaſoned with the ſalt of Grace. 'Twas to cut off theſe Exceſſes of the Tongue that ſilence was ſo highly recommended to Chriſtians.

Idem. ii. *Pædag.* v. vi. vii.

Ambros. i. *Off.* xxiii.

Conſt. Apoſt. v. c. ix.

Eph. v. 4. *Scurrilitas.*

Col. iv. 6.

This Diſcipline would appear now a Days very Severe. Yet why ſhould it? If we conſider how expreſsly Scoffers and Scorners are condemned in the Scriptures, and the theatning Denounced againſt them; and how Grave and Serious was the Life of Jeſus Chriſt and his Diſciples. Beſides, the taſting pleaſure in the things I have

Prov. iii. 34. ix. 7. 12. xii. xxix. 9.

Chryſoſt. *Hom.* vi. *in Matt. Mor*

have mentioned is Vicious, or at leaſt Dangerous; and a Chriſtian even in the moſt Innocent matters ought to Regulate himſelf with the greateſt Sobriety and Moderation. Indeed the whole Life of a Chriſtian ſhould be taken up in little elſe, than in expiating his paſt Sins by Repentance, and in Guarding himſelf againſt the like for the future by the Mortification of his Paſſions. The true penitent to Chaſtiſe himſelf for having Abuſed the Pleaſures, of ſence, muſt begin by denying himſelf even the Lawful uſe of them, and to extinguiſh, or at leaſt weaken natural Concupiſcence, muſt (as much as is poſſible) deny all its Cravings. So that a true Chriſtian muſt never make it his buſineſs to ſeek the} pleaſures of Sence, but juſt take ſomuch of them as the neceſſities of Life require, and which cannot be withheld; as Eating, Drinking, and neceſſary Repoſe; if ever he take any Recreation, it muſt be a Recreation properly ſo called, that is to ſay a Refreſhment and Eaſe, to Recreate or relieve the weakneſs of Nature, which would ſink under the weight were the Body always kept up to hard Labours, or the Mind always bent upon cloſe Thinking. But to ſeek Pleaſure for Pleaſures Sake, and as making it our end: Nothing can be more contrary to the O-

bligation we lye under of Renouncing our ſelves, which is the very Life and Soul of all Chriſtian Vertues.

This Serious and mortifyed Diſpoſition of the true Chriſtians appears even from the Genius of the Hereſies of theſe firſt times, which for the moſt part were occaſioned by an exceſs of Diſcipline and corporal Auſterity. The *Marcionites*, and after them the *Manichees*, held that the Fleſh was an Evil thing, as being the work of the evil Principle, and therefore concluded that it was not lawful either to eat Fleſh, or to multiply it by Procreation, and that the Reſurrection of the Fleſh, was a thing neither to be expected nor deſired. This contempt of the Body, this Abſtinence and Continence made a very ſpecious Appearance. The *Montaniſts* added many other Faſts as of neceſſary Obligation to thoſe apointed by the Church; condemned ſecond Marriages, and wholy diſallowed of Pennance, as not granting that the Church had Power to reſtore them who had, after their Baptiſm fallen into the commiſſion of any grievous Sin. He that ſhould now a Days advance Errors of this Nature would ſcarce gain many Proſelytes.

But how ſevere ſoever the Life of thoſe Primitive Chriſtians may appear to have been; yet we are not to imagine it was

ſad and Melancholy. St. *Paul* required no impoſſible thing of them, when he bid them rejoyce; if they denied themſelves thoſe Exceſſes of Pleaſure which other Men hunt after, they were freed alſo from all that Chagrin and other Paſſions which are ſo very troubleſom; leading a Life free from Ambition, from Covetouſneſs, and all Fond doating upon the things of this Life. They enjoyed the Peace of a good Conſcience, the Reflexions of a well ſpent Life; and the aſſurance thereupon following of their being in the Favour of God; and above all, the bleſſed hopes of the Life to come, which they always looked upon as near at Hand: For they knew that this World muſt ſuddenly paſs away; and the Perſecutions ſeemed to be but forerunners of the univerſal Judgment. *Phil.* iii. 1. & iv. iv.

So that they little troubled their Thoughts about what would become of their Families after their Death: If they left their Children Orphans, as was often the Caſe of the Martyrs, they knew that the Church would be their Mother, and that they ſhould want for nothing. They lived for the moſt part only from Hand to Mouth, upon their Labour, or upon their Eſtates, which they divided among the Poor, without diſtraction of Thought, without the hurry of Buſineſs; ſtanding

off

off not only from all ſordid Methods of Gain, or whatſoever might bear the leaſt ſuſpicion of injuſtice, but alſo from the very deſire of heaping up Treaſures and enriching themſelves; ſo that the Prelates complain of it as a great diſorder, and a new thing among Chriſtians, that in the intervals of the Perſecutions, they began to forget themſelves, and fell to getting Eſtates; as if they were for eſtabliſhing to themſelves Manſions upon Earth. And they that ſtood thus indifferent to Earthly Poſſeſſions, could have no great hankering after ſenſual Pleaſures: and if in theſe things we do not at leaſt in the ſincerity of our Deſires emulate them, we are no good Chriſtians.

Cpyr. de Laps.

XI. Marriages.

WITH all this indifferency to the things of this Life; yet the Chriſtians generally made choice of the Married State: They could have no good opinion of the Celibacy of the Heathens; ſince they ſaw it founded only upon Licentiouſneſs and Debauchery. So that the Civil Laws themſelves aimed at the reſtraint of it, both by affixing ſome kind of Penalties upon thoſe who continued unmarried after ſuch a Term of Years; and rewards to thoſe who in lawful Matrimony encreaſed the number of the People. The Chriſtians knew but two ſtates; that of

Tac. An. iii. *v tit. cod. de infirm. pæn. cœlib.* *v. Baron. an.* 57. *n.* 44, &c.

of Marriage, or Continence. They preferred the latter, as knowing its Excellencies, and they often found the means of Reconciling them both in one; for there were many Married Perſons who yet lived in Continence. But all Chriſtians in general abſtained from the uſe of the Bed on the Feaſts and Faſts of the Church, as well as at other times, when (according to the Apoſtles Rule) they were diſpoſed more Freely to give themſelves to Prayer: Second Marriages were looked upon as a weakneſs; inſomuch as in ſome Churches they enjoined the Perſons ſo remarrying, Penance.

Tertul. ad uxor. c. vi. & de Reſur. car. c. 8.

Cypr. de ſing. Cle.

Cor. vii.

Hier. ad Salvin in fi.

But how highly ſoever they eſteemed Continence, they had an eſteem for Marriage, as being a great Sacrament: They had honourable Thoughts of it, conſidering it as an Emblem of that Union which is between Chriſt and his Church, and that Bleſſing Pronounced by God upon Mankind at the firſt Creation; which neither Original Sin nor the Deluge hath taken away; that is, of encreaſing and multiplying. They knew that the relation of Father and Mother was an high and honourable Character; as being the Images of God in a more peculiar manner, and Co-operating with him in the Production of Men. 'Tis certain by the Goſpel, that St. *Peter* was a Married Man;

Orat. in Bened. Spons.

Clem. Alex. ii. *Pædag.* c. x.

Man; and Tradition, (as St. *Clemens Alexandrinus* relates it) tells the ſame of the Apoſtle St. *Philip*, that they had both of them Children; and particularly of St. *Philip*, 'tis obſerved that he gave his Daughters in Marriage.

Clem. iii. *ſtrom.*

Euſeb. iii. *Hiſt.* 30.

Among other Directions, for the Education of Children, this is one, That they ſhould (to ſecure their Vertue) timely diſpoſe of them in Marriage; and they who had Charity enough to take upon them the charge of breeding up Orphans, were adviſed to Match them as ſoon as they came of Age; and rather to their own Children than to Strangers: a Proof, how little the Chriſtians of thoſe days regarded Worldly Intereſt in the matter of Marriage. They adviſed with their Biſhop about Marriages (as indeed they did about all Affairs of greater Importance) that ſo, ſaith *Ignatius*, *they might be made according to God, and not according to Concupiſcence.* When the Parties were agreed, the Marriage was publickly and ſolemnly performed in the Church, and there Conſecrated by the Benediction of the Paſtor, and Confirmed by the Oblation of the holy Sacrifice. The Bridegroom gave his Hand to the Bride, and the Bride received from her Husband a Ring engraved with the Sign of the Croſs, or at leaſt having on it ſome Symbolical Fi-

Conſt. Ap. iv. *c.* x.

Ibid. c, i.

Ignat. Ep. ad Polycar.

Tertul. ii. *ad ux. in fi.*

gure

gure representing some Christian Vertue; as a Dove, an Anchor, or a Fish, for of such Figures did the Christians make their Seals; and among the Antients their Rings were also their Seals or Signets. *Clem. Alex. iii. Pædag. c. xi.*

XII The Union of Christians.

HITHERTO have we considered Christians in their Private Capacities; let us now take a view of them as United into a Body and making a Church. The name of *Ecclesia*, *i. e.* Church, signifies no more than an Assembly, and was taken in the Cities of *Greece* for a meeting of the People, who commonly came together in the Theatre, for the dispatch of Publick Affairs. We have in the Acts of the Apostles an Example of this profane *Ecclesia* or Assembly in the City of *Ephesus*; and therefore the Christians by way of distinction from these profane *Ecclesias*, where called the *Ecclesia* or Church of God. *Origen* in his Dispute against *Celsus*, compares these two sorts of Assemblies together, and lays it down as a thing certain and manifest, that the less Zeal of the Christians (who were but few in comparison of the rest) did so much excel other Men, That the Christian Assemblies appeared in the World like Stars in the Firmament. The Christians therefore of every City made up but one Body; and this was one principal pretence of *Acts* xix. 32

Per-

Perſecuting them. Their Aſſemblies were repreſented as Illegal Meetings, not being Authorized by the Laws of the State. Their Unity and Love paſſed fot a Crime, and was Objected againſt them as a dangerous Confederacy.

And indeed all the Chriſtians living in the ſame Place were well known to each other; as it could not be otherwiſe, conſidering how often they joined in Prayer, and other exerciſes of Religion, upon which occaſions they met together almoſt every Day. They all maintained a Friendly Correſpondence among themſelves; often met and conferred together, and even in indifferent matters conformed to one another. Their Joys and their Griefs were in common: If any one had received of God any particular Bleſſing, they all ſhared the ſatisfaction. If any one were under Pennance, they all Interceeded on his behalf, and begged that Mercy might be ſhewn him. They lived together as kindred of the ſame Family, calling one another by the Name of Father or Child, Brother or Siſter, according to the difference of Age or Sex.

ThisUnity was maintained by that Authority which every Maſter of a Family had over thoſe of his own Houſe; and by the Submiſſion that all of them paid to the

Prieſts

Prieſts and their Biſhops; a Duty ſo earneſtly recommended to Chriſtians in the Epiſtles of the holy Martyr St. *Ignatius*: But above all, the Biſhops were moſt cloſely United among themſelves. They all knew one another, at leaſt by their Names and Characters, and held a conſtant Epiſtolary Correſpondence; which was eaſy to be done at that time, by reaſon of the vaſt extent of the *Roman* Empire; which God in his Providence ſeems to have ſo ordered, as it were on purpoſe for the Propagation of the Goſpel. But as the Church was extended far wider than the Empire, reaching to all the Nations round about it; that uniformity of Faith and Manners, which was found among all the Chriſtians was ſtill the more wonderful, conſidering the Diverſity of Nations among whom they were ſcattered. And herein appeared the Power of true Religion, Correcting in all that embraced it, all thoſe Barbarous and unreaſonable Cuſtoms in which they had been educated: In ſhort, the univerſal Church was in reality but one Body, all the Members whereof were United to each other; not only by the ſame Faith, but alſo by the ſame moſt Comprehenſive Charity.

Bardeſan. apud Euſeb. vi. *Præpar.* c. 8.

Euſeb. i. *Præp.* c. iv.

EVERY

XIII. Their Church Assembly's Liturgy, and outward form of Worship.

EVERY Particular Church met together on the Lord's-Day, which the Heathens called *Sunday*, and which the Christians honoured above all Days, in the Memory of the Creation of Light, and of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. The place of their Assembly, was generally some private House, where they chose for this purpose one of the dining Rooms, which the *Latins* called *Canacula*, and which were the upper Chambers of the House; such was that upper Room from whence fell the young Man *Eutychus* whom St. *Paul* recovered to Life, which we find was three Stories high, enlightned with many Lamps, where the Faithful were met together on the Night of the Lord's-Day for the Breaking of Bread; that is, for the Celebration of the Mysteries which was followed with a repast, *viz.* the Love-Feast. In the Persecutions they were often forced to hide themselves in the Cryptæ or Hollow places under Ground, without the Cities; like the Catacombs still to be seen at *Rome*. When they had more Liberty, they met in Publick Places, known by all to be the Churches of Christians. We see Examples thereof in the reigns of the Emperors *Alexander* and *Gordianus*. The Emperor *Gallienus* causing a stop to be put to the Persecutions, gave order that the Christians

Justin. ii. *Apol. in fi.*

Act. xx. 7, *&c.*

v. Baron. an lvii. *n.* xcix.

Idem. an. ccxxiv. *n.* iii. *an.* 245 *n.* 302.

Euseb. viii *Hist.* c. iii.

stians should have their *Cemiteries* restored to them; near which commonly stood their Churches; and when *Paulus Samosatenus* was deposed, the Emperor *Aurelian* commanded the Church, *viz.* the Material Church of the place, to be restored to those who continued in Communion with the Bishop of *Rome*. Some of these publick Churches had been before Private Houses; as that of the Senator St. *Pudens*, the happy Father of so many blessed Children, St. *Novatus* and St. *Timotheus* the Priest, and the Virgins St. *Pudentiana* and St. *Praxeda*. This illustrious Family had been instructed in the Faith by the Apostles themselves; and their House was turned into a Church by the Priest St. *Pastor*. There were often also new Buildings erected on purpose for this use: A little before the *Diocletian* Persecution, they had in all Cities Churches new built from the Ground; so mightily was the number of the Faithful encreased; and the Persecution began by the pulling down these Churches.

Ibid 30.

Martyr. Rom. xx. *Jun.*

Euseb. viii. *Hist. c.* iii.

In these Assemblies they said their Prayers before mentioned, at the stated Hours of the Day and Night: But the chief work of their meeting together was to offer the Sacrifice, which could not be done without a Priest. They called it either by the Scripture names of the Sup-

per, the breaking of Bread, the Oblation; or by the names afterward received in the Church, as the *Synaxis*; that is to say, Assembly, in Latin *Collecta*: the *Eucharist*; that is, Thanksgiving; the *Liturgy*; that is, the Publick Service. In the time of the Persecutions, for fear of meeting with disturbance from the Infidels, they sometimes administred it before Day. There was but one Sacrifice in each Church; that is, in each Dioceſs: 'Twas the Bishop that Offered it; nor did the Priests do it, but in case of the absence or Indisposition of the Bishop. But they assisted him in performing the Service, and all of them Offered together with him. The Order of the Liturgy hath been changed according to the difference of Times and Places: Some Indifferent Ceremonies have been added to it, and some others retrenched; but the Essentials have remained always the same. The Account we find of it in the first Times, is this;

Dominicum. Collecta.

Cypr. Ep. lxiii ad Cæcil.

St. Just. ii. Apol. in fi. After some Prayers, followed the reading of the Holy Scriptures, first out of the Old Testament, and then out of the New. They always concluded with a Lesson out of the Gospel, which when Read the Bishop Expounded, adding thereto some proper Exhortation suited to the occasions of his Flock. That ended, they

all

all rose up, and turning their Faces to the East, with hands lift up to Heaven, they Prayed for all sorts and Conditions of Men, for Christians and Infidels, great and small; particularly for all that were any ways afflicted or distressed in Mind, Body, or Estate. A Deacon called upon them to Pray, a Priest pronounced the Words of Prayer, and the People gave their Assent by answering, Amen. Then the Gifts were offered, that is the Bread and Wine, mingled with Water, which was to be the matter of the Sacrifice. The People gave the Kiss of Peace, Men to Men, and Women to Women in token of their perfect Unity. After that every one gave his Offerings to the Priest, and he in the name of them all offered them up to God. Then he began the solemnity of the Sacrifice, calling upon the People to lift up their Hearts to God, and with the Angels and all the Heavenly powers to Laud and Magnifie his glorious Name; next he proceeded to repeat the History of the Institution, and pronoucing the Words of our Saviour, he made the Consecration; after that together with the People he rehearsed the Lords-Prayer, and having himself received the Communion, he gave it the Deacons for the rest of the Congregation. For Regularly all those that entred the

Cypr. *Ep.* lxiii.

Cypr. *de Orat.*

St. Just.

Can. Apoſt. IX. 10. Church were to Communicate, eſpecially all that Miniſtred at the Altar.

As for thoſe who had not the opportunity of aſſiſting at the Sacrifice in Perſon, the Euchariſt was ſent to them by the Hands of Deacons or the *Acolythi*. They reſerved part of it alſo to be always in readineſs for the Viaticum for Dying Perſons, as a proviſion for their Journy. They permitted the Faithful to carry it Home; to take it every morning before they touched any other Food, or upon ſudden occaſions in caſe of Danger; as when they ſhould be called to ſuffer Martyrdom. Theſe things were admitted in thoſe Days. For they had not then the liberty of meeting together and celebrating the Myſteries when they pleaſed. That which was thus carryed abroad was onely the Bread. Though in their publick Aſſemblies all in General communicated under both kinds, excepting little Children, to whom was given only the Wine. The *Agapæ* or Love-Feaſt, which in theſe firſt times followed the Communion, was a Repaſt of ordinary Food, which they took altogether in the ſame place, where they had Communicated. In after times it was given only to the Widows and the Poor. There was always ſet aſide a Portion for the Paſtor though Abſent. The Prieſts and Dea-

Tertull. i. ad uxor. c. v.

Conſt. Apoſt. ii. c. xxviii.

Deacons had a double Portion. Every one alſo of the Readers, Singers, and Door-Keepers had their ſhare of it.

XIV. The ſecret of the Myſteries.

'TWAS in theſe ſame Aſſemblies that (as far as was poſſible) they Adminiſtred the other Sacraments, which was the cauſe of the ſpecial care they took not to admit any Infidel. For they inviolably obſerved that command of our Saviour, of not giving Holy things to Dogs, or caſting Pearl before Swine. This is the reaſon why they called Sacraments by the name of Myſteries, that is to ſay things Concealed, and that they kept them to themſelves with a ſacred ſecreſy. They kept them concealed not only from the Infidels, but from the *Catechumens* alſo. They not only declined to Celebrate the Myſteries before them, but would not ſo much as inform them what was done at the Celebration, nor pronounce in their preſence the ſolemn words, nor Speak a ſyllable in their Hearing concerning the nature of the Sacraments. Much leſs did they Write upon this Subject. And if in their publick Diſcourſe, or in any Writing which might fall into profane Hands, they were obliged to Speak of the Euchariſt, or of any other Myſtery, they did it in obſcure and Ænigmatical Terms. So in the New Teſtament to

Mat. vii. 6. *v. Methode des peres. ch.* viii.

Act. ii. 42. 46. *Act.* xx. 7. 11.

break Bread, ſignifies to conſecrate and diſtribute the Euchariſt, a Phraſe by which the Infidels could not gueſs what was meant. This Diſcipline of the Church Continued for many Ages after the Perſecutions ceaſed.

'Twas not ſtrange to the Heathens to ſee Myſteries in Religion: They themſelves obſerved the like in their Profane Ceremonies. They who were Initiated into the Myſteries of *Iſis*, or *Oſiris*, or *Ceres Eleuſinia*, or *Cybele*, or the *Samothracian* Gods, or other ſuch like, were bound under the moſt dreadful Maledictions to conceal the ſecret of the Myſteries; and he that ſhould have divulged them, would have been looked upon as a moſt accurſed Wretch. Hereof *Apuleius* gives us a lively Inſtance; and tis upon this account that *Herodotus* as he is ſpeaking of the divers ceremonies of the Religion of the *Ægyptians*, or other People, often adds: I know the reaſon of theſe things, but I dare not tell it.

Apul. Aſin. lib. xi.

XV. The reaſons of the general Odium againſt the Chriſtians.

YET this ſecret of the Myſteries gave occaſion to many falſe and ſcandalous Reports againſt the Chriſtians. For Men generally conceal themſelves rather for Hurt than Good. And 'twas a thing but too Notorious, that in other Religions, the Myſteries which they took ſuch care

to

to Conceal were indeed no better than a Cover for the most infamous Practises; as in the ceremonies of *Ceres* and *Cybele*, and in the Sacrifices of *Bacchus*, which were forbidden at *Rome*, by a Decree of the Senate *A. U. C.* 568. in which were Perpetrated most horrid Cruelties. The Prejudice they had against the Christians made them readily Imagin, that what they kept so secret, was something of the like Nature. And these suspicions were supported by the destable Villanies committed in their Conventicles by the *Gnostick*, the *Carpocratians*, and other Hereticks, which indeed were such that one would scarce beleive the account the Fathers give us of them. Now all these Hereticks went under the Common Denomination of Christians, Besides, from among the Catholicks themselves, there were always some Apostates who Revolted to Paganism; eithere out of levity of Mind, or refusing to submit to Pennance after the Commission of some grievous Sin, or as not being able to bear Persecution. These Apostates in their own Defence, Invented *Calumnies* against the Christians, or at least confirmed and heightned those that were already forged against them: And having been themselves Initiated in the Mysteries of the

Orig. in Cels. i. *Tertull. Apol.* vii.

Liv. lix. c. 9.

Castor. ap. Euseb. iv. *Hist.* c. vii. *Bar. an.* cxx. *n.* 22. &c. *Epiph. Hares.* xx. *and* xxvii. *Iren. lib.* i. c. xxiv.

Christians their Testimony passed for Undoubted.

Thus came to be spread that Lye, that the Christians in the Night assemblies, cut the Throat of a young Child to dip their Bread in his Blood, and after that Roasted him, covered him over with Flower and so fed upon his Flesh: Which false Report plainly arose from the Mysteries of the Eucharist Misrepresented: To this they Farther added, that after having taken together their common Repast, in which they eat and drank to Excess, they cast a bit of Meat to a Dog who was tyed to a Candlestick, so that the Dog leaping at the Bait threw down the Candle, after which being now in the Dark all the Men and Women were Promiscuously together, like so many Beasts without any choice or Distinction as it happened. How absurd soever these Fables were, yet the People believed them, and the Christian Apologists, were obliged to bestow a serious Answer upon them. The Example of the *Bacchanals* in *Rome* about two Hundred Years before, in which were Discovered such horrid Villanies, had taught them to believe in general that there could be nothing so Abominable that might not be Introduced under the colour of Religion.

Min. Fel.

Tert. l. Apol. c. vii. 8. 9. Orig. Contr. Cels. vi. p. 293.

The

The Christians were also charged with being Enemies to all Mankind, and to the *Roman* Power in particular. That they rejoiced at the disasters of the Publick; were grieved at its Successes, and wished the ruin of the Empire. That which gave occasion to all those Surmises was, That they heard the Christians talk so much of the Vanity of all Earthly Glories, of the end of the World, and of the last Judgment; or perhaps they were somewhat Allarmed from what some indiscreet or malicious Persons might have told them, concerning the Punishments denounced in the *Apocalyps*, against Idolatrous *Rome*, and the Vengeance which God would one Day take on her for the Blood of the Martyrs, which she had spilt. That which further encreased these Suspicions against the Christians, was their not joining with their Neighbours in their Publick Rejoyings, which consisted in Sacrifices, Profane Feasts, and Spectacles full of Idolatry and Dissoluteness. On the contrary, they rather chose to pass those Days in Penance and Mortification, in consideration of the numberless Sins and Provocations then committed against God, and they rejoiced on those Days which the Superstition of the Pagans had marked for Calamitous and unfortunate. They avoided their

Luc. in Philopat.

Tertul. Ap. c. xxv.

Const. Ap. v. *c.* 9. *Clem.* ii. *Pædag. Ambros. Serm.* xvii. *de Cal. Jan. Aug. in Ps.* xcviii. *n.* v.

their Fairs becauſe of the profane Plays there Acted. If ever they went to them, it was only juſt to provide themſelves neceſſaries, or to buy ſome Slave, in order to convert him.

Conſt. Ap. ii. c. xxvi.

And indeed this one thing was ſufficient to render them odious to the People, their openly declaring againſt all the eſtabliſhed Religions. 'Twas to no purpoſe to tell them that they worſhiped the only true God, maker of Heaven and Earth, and that they worſhiped him in Spirit, daily offering up to him the Sacrifices of their Prayers. This was a ſort of Language theſe blind Idolaters knew not what to make of. They demanded of the Chriſtians to tell them the name of their God; and called them down-right Atheiſts, becauſe they Worſhiped none of the Gods that ſtood in their Temples: had no burning Altars, nor Bloody Sacrifices. The Sacrificing Prieſts, the Augurs, the Aruſpices, the Diviners of all ſorts; in a Word, all thoſe whoſe Employment and dependance was upon the Idolatrous worſhip, ſpared not to foment, and blow up the Rage of the People againſt them: To that purpoſe they made uſe of pretended Prodigies, accuſing the Chriſtians as the Cauſes of all the Publick Calamities that befel them; when they were plagued with Famine, Peſtilence

tilence, War, or the like; all was charged upon the score of the Christians, by means of whom, said they, the Wrath of the Gods is drawn down upon places where they are suffered to live. *Tertul. Ap. xl. Arnob. init.*

These violent Prejudices against the Christians, made them fly in the Face of their very Vertues, and turn them to their reproach. The Love they bore to one another was scandalously Interpreted; the common Appellation used amongst themselves of Brother and Sister, were wrested to an ill sence; as indeed the Heathens had abused those Names in their infamous Amours. The large Alms they distributed were Censured to be done with an evil Design, to seduce the Poorer sort of People, and strengthen their Faction; or as a contrivance of the covetous Bishops to draw into their Churches vast heaps of Treasure to lye at their disposal. As for Miracles, they said, they were only pieces of Sorcery and Magical Impostures: And indeed the World was then over run with cheating Quacks, Jugglers and Fortune Tellers, who had their several ways of Divination, by which they pretended to foretell things to come; and by Vertue of their Spells and Charms, by the Power of some Barbarous and unintelligible Words, and Fantastick Figures and Characters, to be able to cure Diseases. And whether *Tertul. Ap. c. xxxix. Petro.* *Acta SS. Hippolyti. &c. apud Baron. an. 259. n. xiii.* *Prud. hymn S. Laurent.*

it

it were all done by trick, or whether they were really assisted by some evil Spirit; they imposed upon the Eye sight, and did actually perform many strange Feats, to the Amazement of the Beholders; so that 'twas no new thing to hear talk of Miracles; nay, nor to see them. They confounded the true with the false, and equally despised all pretenders to them. And the Country out of which the Apostles and first Christians came, encreased this contempt of them. For the greatest part of these kind of Impostors came out of the East.

The Persecutions themselves were a sufficient Ground of hatred against the Christians; People supposed them Criminals, because they were every where treated as such, and judged of the greatness of their Crime by the severity of their Punishment. Thus they were looked upon as an accursed Race of Mortals, devoted to destruction, and marked out for Flames and Gibbets. And to add contumely to Injustice, they branded them with ill Names. And these are those mighty things which rendered the Christians so odious to the ignorant and unthinking Multitude. Upon these wild and general Notions, *Suetonius* and *Tacitus*, following common Fame, found all they say concerning the Christians.

Tertul. Ap. c. 1. Baron an. CXXXVIII nr v. v. Bar. CCCLXXXV. n. v.

The

The Emperor *Claudius* (saith *Suetonius*) banished the *Jews* from *Rome*, *who at the Instigation of* Chrestus, *were always making disturbances*; as if Jesus Christ had been then living, and the Head of a party among the *Jews*. The same Author reckons among the good Actions of *Nero* his having caused the Christians to be brought to Punishment, *A Sect*, saith he, *of a new and dangerous Superstition*. *Tacitus* speaking of *Nero*'s having fired *Rome* only to divert himself with the sight, saith that he charged it upon those who were commonly called Christians, *a sort of People who were generally hated for their Practices*. After which he adds, *They took their Name from a certain Person called* Christ, *who in the reign of* Tiberius Cæsar, *was put to Death by* Pontius Pilate. *But this Pernicious Superstition, after having suffered some little check, brake forth a new, and spread it self not only throughout all* Judea, *where it took Birth*; *but also to* Rome *its self, the place where every thing that is black and infamous seems to Center and Rendesvouse: First, there were some seized who confessed, and upon their discovery vast numbers were Condemned, not so much upon the account of the Fire, as being a Sacrifice to the common Odium*. He treats them afterward as *a Mischievous sort of People, and such as well deserved the most Exemplary Punishments*.

Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Româ expulit.

Suet. Ner. n. 16. Affecti suppliciis Christiani genus Hominum Superstitionis novæ & maleficæ.

Tac. XV. annal. quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat.

Repressaq; in præsens exitiabilis Superstitio, &c.

Quo omnia undique atrocia & pudenda confluunt celebranturque.

Even

Even the Men of Learning and Ingenuity among them, that would Vouchsafe to enter into any examination of the matter, were not without their aversions against the Christians. Those persons of Learning were either *Greeks* or *Romans*, who used to dispise other Nations under the notion of Barbarians, and above all People the *Jews*; a Nation that had for a long time made but a Despicable Appearance in the World, and stood particularly Branded for a People of a ridiculous Superstition and sottish Credulity. *This may a* Jew *believe, not I*; saith *Horace* speaking of a Prodigy. When therefore they were told that there were some *Jews* who adored as the Son of God, a Person that had been publickly put to Death upon the Cross, and that the grand Controversy between them and the other *Jews* was, whether this Person was yet Living after his Death, and whether he were the true King of the *Jews*; one may readily imagin how Ridiculous these Disputes would appear to the Heathens. They saw that those of this new Sect were hated and Persecuted by all the other *Jews*, so that it often proved an occasion of great Commotions among them, and therefore they concluded that these were a worse sort of *Jews* than all the rest.

Credat Judæus Apella, non ego. Hor. 1. Sat. v.

Act. xxv. 19.

Act. xxviii. 22.

They

They further Objected, that those of this new Religion used neither arguments nor Eloquence to convince Mens Understanding, but barely bad them Believe what was told them without disputing it, pretending Miracles for all they said. That the Greatest part of them were poor ignorant Souls, that never looked into any Books, but the Writings of the *Jews*. That they set up for Teachers and Instructers, but 'twas only of People Simple and Ignorant like themselves, as Women and little People; finding them more forward to receive their Doctrine, then Persons of Sence and Learning. And indeed this was a thing altogether new to them. For there was no Provision made by the Heathens for the Instruction of the common People in matters of Religion. They had only the Lectures of their Philosophers, who Read to them the precepts of Morality, but never meddled with the proper Offices of Religion. Besides, as all the Hereticks passed under the name of Christians, they ascribed to the whole Body of Christians all the Wild Fancies of the *Valentinians* and the other such like Visionaries encountred by *Irenæus*. The Heathens confounded all these Extravagancies with the Catholick Faith; so that the Religion of the Christians appeared to them a meer mess of Infatuations,

Orig. Com. Cels.

Aug. de vera Rel init.

Orig Contr. Cels.

V. Baron. an. clxxix. n. 17. and 28

tions, vented by a parcel of Ignorant Crack-Brain'd Fools.

Euseb. Præpar. i. cap. ii.

For what reason, said they, can you give us why we should quit the established Religions, Pleading so long a Prescription of Time, recommended with such a pomp of Ceremonies, confirmed by the Authority of so many Kings and Legislators, and received by the Consent of all People, both *Greeks* and *Barbarians*; and that to embrace a Novel Invention of we know not who, and run our selves a ground upon the *Jewish* Fables: Or if you have a mind to turn *Jews*, why are you not *Jews* thorow out? But your Extravagancy is unaccountable in Worshiping the God of the *Jews* whether they will or no, and in Worshiping him in such a manner as the *Jews* themselves Condemn as much as we, and in pretending to their Law with which you have nothing to do.

'Tis true the Morals of Christians were very Exact, and their Practises answered their Principles. But all the World was then full of Philosophers, who pretended no less than the Christians both to the teaching of Vertue, and to the Practising of it. There were among them also many who in the first Ages of the Church, (perhaps in Imitation of the Christians) ran about the World from Place to Place preten-

pretending to make it their business to reform Mankind, and thereupon submitting themselves to many Hardships, and undergoing a kind of Persecution by the ill Treatment they sometimes met with, as *Apollonius Tyaneus Musonius, Damis, Epictetus*, and some others. The Philosophers had for many Ages before been in great Reputation. 'Twas taken for granted that nothing more could be added to what had already been said by some of them. They could not imagin that *Barbarians* should have any thing better to offer than *Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato*, or *Zeno*. They concluded that if these new Pretenders had any thing that was good in them, 'twas but somewhat which they had borrowed from those Old Sages.

V. Baron an. lxxv. n. 6.

Orig. Cons. Cels.

Besides, the Philosophers were a more Agreeable sort of Professors, and their Principles better Accommodated to the inclinations of Mankind, than those of the Christians. The greatest part of them did not condemn Pleasure, nay some of them made Pleasure the Sovereign good. They left every one to enjoy his own Opinion, and take his own way of Living. If they could not perswade Men, their method was to rally and dispise them; and that was all the trouble they gave them. But a bove all they took care not

to pick Quarrels with the eſtabliſhed Religions. Some believed them, and gave Myſtical Explications of the moſt Ridiculous Fables. Others troubled their Heads no farther about matters of Religion, then to Acknowlede ſome firſt being, the Author of Nature, leaving the publick Superſtitions to thoſe whom they believed incapable of higher attainments. Even the *Epicureans*, who of all others diſcovered themſelves the moſt Openly againſt the popular opinions concerning the Gods, yet freely Aſſiſted at the Sacrifices, and in what part of the World ſo ever they were, joyned with the reſt in the outward Forms of Religious Worſhip there Practiſed. In this all their Wiſe Men agreed, not to oppoſe the Cuſtomes eſtabliſhed either by the Laws of the Countrey or Preſcription of Time.

Aſſiſto Divinis Horat.

Their Belief of a Plurality of Gods went ſo far that they imagined every Nation, every City, every Family had Gods of its own, who took a more peculiar care of them, and whom therefore they were to Worſhip after a more peculiar Manner. So that they counted all Religions good in ſuch Places where they had been of a long time Received. But the Superſtitious Women among them, and other Weak and Ignorant People were always hunting after new Religions, im-

imagining that the more Gods and Goddesses they worshipped, and the greater number and varietie of Ceremonies they observed, the more Devout and Religious they were. The Wise Men among them and their Politicians did what they could to Restrain this restless Humour and keep it within some Bounds; and therefore were against all Innovations in matters of this Nature. Above all they Forbad all strange and Forreign Religions; and this the *Romans* made a Fundamental Principle of their Politicks. To perswade their People to believe that 'twas to the Beneficence of their Titlar Deitys that *Rome* was beholding for all its Glorious Successes, and the Grandeur of its Empire. That their Gods must needs have been more Puissant Deitys than any of the rest, since they had brought under their Subjection all the Nations of the World. Thus when the Christian Religion was entirely established, the *Pagans* failed not to Impute to this Change of Religion, the Fall of the Empire which Succeeded soon upon it. And to answer these False Suggestions, was St. *Augustin* obliged to compose his large Treatise entituled *De Civitate Dei.* *Liv.* xxix.

The Contempt the Christians had of Death, was not by the Heathens looked

upon as any great matter. They saw every Day their voluntier Gladiators, who for some inconsiderable Reward, or perhaps for just nothing at all but to shew their own Bravery, fearlessly exposed themselves to the Swords of their Antagonists, and ventured having their Throats Cut in the open *Amphitheatre*. They had Dayly examples before them of Persons (and those of the best sort) who upon any little Disgust would fairly Dispatch themselves out of the World. Some of their Philosophers (as the *Lawyers* report of them) did the like purely out of Vanity, of which *Lucian's Peregrinus* is a famous Instance. And therefore seeing the Christians Professing a Renunciation of the Enjoyments of this Life, and placing all their happiness in that to come; they rather wondered that they did not kill themselves. *They tell us*, Saith St. *Justin*, *Go then kill your selves without any more ado, get you gone to your God, and let us hear no more of you.* And *Antoninus*, Pro-Consul of *Asia*, seeing the Christians Crowding the Court, and offering themselves to Martyrdom, cryed out to them, *Ah! Wretched Creatures as you are; if you are so fond of dying, can you not find Ropes to hang your selves, or Præcipices from whence you may break your Necks.*

Vel jactatione ut quidam Philosophi. l. vi. §. vii. F. de injusto rump. & irr.

Justin. Ap. 2. init.

Tertul. ad Scap. c. ult.

Thus

Thus all the World were ſet againſt the Chriſtians; the People and the Magiſtrates, the Ignorant and the Wiſe. By the one they were abhorred as Impoſtors and abominable Impious Wretches; by the other they were diſpiſed as a company of Man haters, Viſionary, Fooliſh and Melancholick People. Intoxicated with an unaccountable Frenzy of throwing away their Lives for nothing: So Odious and Deſpicable were they in the ſight of the World, that ſcarce any one would vouchſafe ſomuch as to change a Word with them; ſuch was the Prejudice all Men had conceived againſt the Chriſtians, that the very Name of Chriſtians was ſufficient for their Condemnation, and deſtroyed whatſoever elſe of good was found to be in them. *Such a one* (was their common ſaying) *is an Honeſt Man, were it not for the misfortune of his being a Chriſtian.*

Bonus vir C. Seius tantum quòd Chriſtianus. Tertul. Ap. c. iii.

XVI. The Perſecutions. the maner of proceeding againſt them. Their Puniſhments.

THAT the Chriſtians being ſo univerſally hated, ſhould be Perſecuted is not ſtrange, but this one may juſtly wonder at, That the *Romans*, who in their Laws and Government, and in their other Conduct gave ſuch Proofs of their Wiſdom and Equity, ſhould practice againſt their fellow *Romans*; or indeed againſt any human Creatures, ſuch cruelties as we read of in the Hiſtory of the Martyrs: That

the Judges ſhould cauſe the Perſon accuſed to be put to the Torment in their own Preſence, in open Court, in the view of the whole World; that they ſhould employ ſuch different ſorts of Tortures upon them, and that (as for all that appears) meerly Arbitrary. It may be worth our while therefore, to obſerve in all this, what was owing to the ſtanding Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions of their Government: and what was ſupperadded thereto by a falſe Zeal for Religion, and Reaſons of State.

The *Romans* tried all Cauſes in open Court; all their Proceſſes as well Criminal as Civil, the Charge as well as the *Sentente* was given in ſome publick place, where under a covered Gallery the Magiſtrate ſeated himſelf in his Tribunal, raiſed on high above the reſt of the People, and ſurrounded with the Officers of the Court; the Lictors with Axes and Bundles of Rods in their Hands attending him, and the Soldiers ſtanding by, always in a readineſs to execute his Orders: For the *Roman* Magiſtrates had in their own Hands the Power of the Sword, as well as the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. The Penalties for every Crime where fixed by the Laws; but ſo as to vary according to the Quality of the Offenders; and always more rigorous againſt Slaves than againſt

Cic. iv. *Ver.* i. *l. c.* xl.

L. 6. § 2. *ff. de pœn.* *l.* 9 §. 11. *l.* x. *l.* xxviii. *&c. ibid.*

againſt Freemen; againſt Foreigners than againſt the *Roman* Citizens: Therefore St *Paul* was Beheaded, as being a Denizen of *Rome*, and St. *Peter* Crucified as a *Jew*. The Croſs was the moſt infamous of all their Puniſhments; and they that ſuffered that Death, were generally firſt beaten with Rods, and had their ſides burned with red hot Irons, or flaming Torches, before they were nailed to the Croſs; their putting to the Rack was done in Publick, and the manner of it was extreamly Cruel; but it was ſeldom exerciſed upon any ſave Slaves or Perſons of the loweſt conſideration. The Martyrology obſerves it as a thing Extraordinary, that St. *Marinus* being one of the Senatorian Order, was put upon the *Eculeus* and Tormented with the *Ungulæ Ferreæ*, or Iron Pincers, with which they pinched or burnt the ſides of Malefactors upon the Rack. And yet 'twas after this way of Proceeding that moſt of the Martyrs were Tormented. The *Roman* Laws as well as ours of *France*, permitted none to be put to the Rack, ſave only for Examination ſake. But they uſed the ſame means to make Chriſtians deny their pretended Crimes, as they did to make others confeſs their real ones. The ſame manner of trying Criminals by putting them to the Rack, of ſtretching out their Limbs

Cic. ver. ult. n. lxiii.

Martyrol. Rom. xii. *Janu.*

with Pullies, whipping them, tearing and Searing their Flesh; continued in use under Christian Emperors; as appears by the Examples of St. *Eutropius* and St. *Tigrius*, who were thus Tortured, under other pretences, but really out of spight to St. *Chrysostom*.

Soxom. viii. *Hist.c.*xxiv.

*l.*viii. § iv. v & *c.* §. xi. *F. de pæn.*

It was an ordinary thing to condemn the meaner and more infamous sort of People to the Mines, as now to the Gallies; or to expose them to be torn to peices by wild Beasts in the *Amphitheatre*, for the diversion of the People. 'Tis not unlikely but that there were several other kinds of Punishments used in the Provinces; nor can it be denied, but that the Magistrates invented several new ones against the Christians; especially in the latter Persecutions, when their vexation to see the number of Christians still multiplying upon them doubled their Fury; and when the Devil Suggested to them the means of destroying rather their Souls than their Bodies. I believe the being Condemned to Prostitution is a kind of Punishment never thought of in the World, but against the Christian Virgins. The extraordinary Admiration which they saw the Christians had for Chastity, put them upon that lewd of Persecution. And of the like nature was that which St. *Jerome* relates of a young Martyr, whom they gently

Martyr. Rom. xxviii. *Jul.*

Hier. init. vitæ S Paul.

gently tied to a Bed of Roses, and under the most delightsome Circumstances, with an Immodest Harlot placed by his side; but so far was he from being overcome with the Temptation, that he bit of his Tongue and spit in her Face; in short, there were a multitude of Martyrs Massacred or put to Torments, without any form of Justice; either by the Fury of the enraged Populace, or by the revenge of their particular Enemies.

The Persecution generally opened with some Edict, forbidding the Assemblies of the Christians, and condeming to certain Penalties all those who refused to Sacrifice to the Gods. The Bishops presently gave notice thereof, Exhorting each other both to redouble their Prayers to God, and to Encourage their People. Many of the Christians hereupon took the advice given by Jesus Chrst to his Disciples, and fled for it. The Pastors and Priests divided themselves; the one part withdrew, the other part remained with the People; they kept themselves concealed with great care; for they were the Persons the most sought after, as being those upon whose loss the Flock would be scattered. Some of them the better to keep themselves unknown, changed their Names; others were content to purchase their quiet, and to give Money to save themselves from being Per-

Cypr. Ep. xv, *&c.*

Mat. x. 23.

Acta S. Pion. Bar. an. 254. *n.* x. *Can.* xii. *Petri Alex. to.* i. *Concil.*

Perſecuted: And thus by ſuffering in their Eſtates, they ſhewed how much leſs they valued their Temporal concerns than their Spiritual. But if any one gave Mony to procure falſe Certificates, that he had obeyed the Emperors Edicts, he was counted in the number of Apoſtates; this being a tacit owning of himſelf an Idolater. The Rules of the Church forbad a Man voluntarily to expoſe himſelf to Martyrdom, or the doing any thing which might provoke the Heathens, and occaſion Perſecution; as the overthrowing their Idols, Firing their Temples, ſpeaking Contemptuoully of their Gods, or publickly oppoſing their Superſtitions: Not but that there are Examples of holy Mattyrs that have done ſuch like things, and of many others who declared themſelves, and owned their Religion: But thoſe extraordinary Perſons we muſt ſuppoſe to have been acted by a ſpecial impulſe; ſo that their ſingular Examples are not to be drawn into Precedent. The general Rule was not to tempt God, but to wait with Patience till one was Diſcovered, and called upon by Authority to give an account of his Faith. In this matter there were two oppoſite Hæreſies to be avoided, the *Gnoſticks* on the one hand, and the *Marcionites* on the other; the *Gnoſticks* and *Valentinians* decried the ſuffering of Mar-

Cypr. Ep. lii. *ad Antonian. Libellatici.*

Orig. Celſ. viii.

Conſt. Ap. v. c. v.

Martyrdom as a needleſs thing, alleadging that Chriſt had died to ſave us from Death; not diſtinguiſhing what kind of Death it was that Chriſt died to ſave us from. They pretended alſo, that flinging away our Lives, was to affront God; who ſince he refuſed the Blood of Bulls and Goats, it was not likely that he ſhould delight in the Blood of Men. The *Marcionites* on the other hand cauſeleſly ran themſelves upon Martyrdom, out of their hatred of the Fleſh, and of the maker of it, who they ſaid was the evil Principle: So that the Church found it neceſſary to make inquiry into the Principles of thoſe that had ſuffered Death for the Faith, to know upon what Grounds they proceeded, and whether they deſerved to be Honoured as Martyrs; and this ſeems to have given the Original to Canoniſations.

Baron. an. cxlv. *n.* iii. *&c.* x. *an.* ccv. *n.* xii. &c.

Bar. an. cxlvi *n.* xii.

Bar. an. cccii. *n.* c. xxvi.

When the Chriſtians were Apprehended, they were caried before the the Magiſtrate, and by him Interrogated in open Court. If they denied themſelves to be Chriſtians, they were generally diſmiſſed upon their own bare Word: For they knew that thoſe who were true Chriſtians would never deny their Faith, or that if they did once deny themſelves to be Chriſtians, they would effectually ceaſe to be ſo. Yet ſometimes for greater

Aſſurance they made them do upon the ſpot ſome act of Idolatry, or utter ſome Contumelious Word againſt Jeſus Chriſt. If they confeſſed themſelves to be Chriſtians, then they endeavoured to beat them off from their Conſtancy, firſt by Perſwaſions or Promiſes, then by threatnings, or if neither of thoſe prevailed, at laſt by Torments. They tried alſo to ſurprize them into the involuntary Commiſſion of ſome Impiety; and then to make them believe that they had already Renounced their Religion; and that 'twas now too late to Recant. As they were brought upon their Trials in the Court, there were always ſtanding near them ſome Idol and Altar: There the Heathens offered Victims in their Preſence, and tried to make them eat ſome part of the Sacrifice; wrenching open their Mouths, and forcing down their Throats ſome bit of Fleſh or at leaſt ſome drops of Wine offered to the falſe Gods: And though the Chriſtians well knew that *not that which goeth into the Mouth defileth a Man, but that which proceedeth out of the Heart*; yet for fear of giving the leaſt occaſion of Offence to thoſe that were weak in the Faith they reſiſted with all their Might. Some having live Coals and Incence clapped into their Hands together, held them burning there

v Can. xiv. *Petr. Alex. to* i. *Conc. p.* 967.

Acta. SS. Tharaci Probi & Andron. an. 290.

Mat. xv. ii. 18.

St. Cyrilla Martyr. v. Jul.

there for a long time, least in throwing away the Coals they should at the same time seem to offer the Incence.

The most usual Tortures they were put to was, to stretch them out at Length upon the Rack or Wooden Horse, with Cords tyed to their Feet and Hands, and drawn at both ends with Pullies, or to Hang them up by the Hands with heavy weights fastned to their Feet: to beat them with Rods or great Clubs, or with Whips stuck with sharp peices of Iron, which they called Scorpions, or with Thongs of raw Leather, or Leather loaded with Balls of Lead; so that many of them Dyed under the Blows. Others they stretched out at Length; Burnt and tore their Flesh and Skin asunder, either with Pincers, or Iron Curry-Combs; so that they often Bared them to the very Ribs, and opened the Hollow of their Bowels till, the Fire pierced into their Entrails and Choaked them to Death. To make their wounds yet more intolerable, they some times rubbed them over with Salt and Uinegar, and as they began to close up Rip't them open again. *Equuleus.*

During all the time of their Torments they were still putting Questions to them, and every thing that was Spoken either by the Judge or by the party Suffering, was taken down in writing Word for Word,

Word, by the publick Notaires: So that upon every Tryal there was left upon Record a verbal Proceſs far more exact than any of thoſe made now a Days, by the Officers of our Courts of Juſtice. For as the Ancients had the Art of Writing by Abreviatures, or a ſort of ſhort Notes where every ſingle Character ſtood for a word, they wrote as faſt as they Spake. and took down preciſely the very ſelf ſame Words that were Utter'd, making every one Speak directly and in his own Perſon, whereas in our verbal Proceſſes all the Diſcourſe runs in the Third-perſon, and the whole is put into order, and worded by the Regiſter.

Theſe verbal Proceſſes were what they called Acts. The Chriſtians were very careful to get Copies of theſe Proceſſes againſt their Brethren: And out of thoſe Acts, as well as from what they themſelves, who were preſent farther obſerved, were the Paſſions of the Martyrs reduce into Writing, and thus Authentically engroſſed and preſerved in the Churches. At *Rome* St. *Clement* ſet up ſeven Notaries, every one of which had the Charge of this Affair, and two Quarters of the City aſſigned him: And St. *Cyprian* gives it as a ſpecial Direction to his Prieſts and Deacons, that they ſhould

Lib. Pontif. in Clem.

Cypr. ep. xxxvi.

care-

carefully note the particular Day on which every one suffered Martyrdom. The greatest part of these Acts of the Martyrs were lost in the *Diocletian* Persecution, and though *Eusebius Cesariensis* had made a great Collection of them, yet that is lost too. So that we have but few of them now remaining. Yet the Names of the most eminent Martyrs are preserved in the *Menologies* and *Martyrologies*, which set down for every Day the Martyrs, of the Day and the Place, where their Feasts are Colebrated; to which were afterwards added the other Saints.

During these Interrogatories, they were Pressed to Discover their Complices, that is the other Christians, and Particularly the Bishops and Priests who Instructed them in their Religion, and the Deacons who assisted them; as also to Deliver up the Holy Scriptures. Twas in the *Diocletian* Persecution, that the Heathens were more particularly bent upon destroying the Books of the Christians, looking upon that as the most Effectual means of destroying their Religion it self. They sought after them with the utmost Diligence, and burned all they could Seize. They searched the Churches for them, the Lodgings of the Readers, and all private Houses. Upon all these Queries the Christians kept their secrets as Inviolable as

Acta C. tens. an. 303.

Acta Mar. Alutin apud Bar. An. 303. *n.* 35, *&c.*

Acta S. Agapes &c apud Bar. an. 304. n. 40, &c.

as they did their Myſteries. They never named any Man's Perſon; they anſwered that they were Taught of God, they were aſſiſted of God, they carryed the Holy Scriptures engraven on their Hearts. They who were ſo Cowardly to Deliver up their Bibles, or Diſcover their Brethren or their Prieſts, were Branded with the Odious name of Traitors, If the Martyrs under their Torments uttered any Words at all, they ſeldom were upon any other Subject than that of Glorifying the goodneſs of God and Imploring his Mercy and Aſſiſtance.

XVII. Priſons,

AFTER this cruel Examination they who ſtill perſiſted in the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, were dilivered over to Puniſhment; but they were often remanded to Priſon, to be kept yet longer upon trial of their Patience, and reſerved for freſh Torments; and indeed, the Priſons themſelves were but another ſort of Torment. Theſe Confeſſors of *Jeſus Chriſt* were thrown into the Darkeſt and moſt Infectious Dungeons, their Hands and Feet loaded with Irons, heavy clogs of Wood hanging upon their Necks, or Fetters with croſs Bolts, contrived ſo as either to keep them ſtanding, or their legs diſtended if they lay. Sometimes they ſtrew-

strewed the Dungeon with little pieces of Pot-sherds or broken Glass; and there they forced them to lye Naked, all full of Cuts and Wounds. Sometimes they left their Wounds to fester and putrify upon them, and in that condition suffered them to dye, with Hunger and Thirst. Sometimes they carefully fed and tended them but only to keep them in Heart for fresh Torments. They were generally denied the liberty of speaking one Word to any Person living; it having been found by experience, That under that Condition they had Converted many of the Infidels, even to the very Goalers and Soldiers themselves that guarded them. Sometimes they ordered to be brought unto them such Persons as they thought most likely to shake their Constancy; as their Fathers, their Mothers, their Wives, their Children; whose Tears and melting Discourses were another sort of Temptation; and many times of more dangerous Consequence than their Torments. If a Martyr were with Child they deferred her Execution till she was Delivered; for so the Law required. Thus the famous Martyr St. *Mamas*, was born in Prison of his Mother Martyr St. *Rufina*.

Prudent Peri Steph. 4 de S. Vincent. & al.

Mart. xvi. April. de S Encratide.

Act. SS. Perpet. & Felic.

Martyr. 31. Aug.

In the mean time the Church took a particular care of these Holy Prisoners. The Deacons often visited them, to do them

Const. Ap. v. c. ii. Cyp. Ep. xi. Martyr. xxiii. Dec.

de Diacono S. Anthimii. them all the Service they could, to go on their Errands, and to ſupply them with Neceſſaries. Their Brethren alſo frequently waited upon them, to ſupport and encourage them to Suffer: They Congratulated their Torments, and wiſhed to have a ſhare in them; they kiſſed their Chains, looked after their Wounds, and ſupplied them with all Conveniencies, as Beds, Cloaths, Diet, and other refreſhments; inſomuch, that *Tertullian* complained that they fared but too well in the Priſons; the Faithful ſpared no coſts upon theſe Occaſions. If they were denied entrance, they freely gave large Bribes to the Keepers and Soldiers to gain Acceſs; nor would they be repulſed by their rudeneſs. They ſubmitted to Blows and Contumelies, put up all Affronts and Injuries, patiently waited at the Priſon Doors whole Nights together, in hopes of gaining the favourable Minute of ſatisfying their Charity. Whenever they could gain admittance, they looked upon the Priſon as a Church, Conſecrated by the preſence of the Saints; there they made their Prayers, and thither the Prieſts reſorted to Celebrate the Sacrifice, and afford the Confeſſors the bleſſed Conſolation of not going out of the World without the Protection of the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt. But if it were a Biſhop or Prieſt that

Martyr. iii. *Jun. de S. Zeua.*

Tertul. ii. *ad uxor.* c. iv.

Tertul. de jejun. c. xii.

Martyr. xi. *Dec. de S. Thraſon.*

v Cypr. Ep. v. *and* vi.

that was in Priſon, the Faithful there Aſſembled themſelves together, that they might not loſe the Opportunity of receiving the Euchariſt, and carrying it home with them to their Houſes; and in ſuch Caſes as theſe, they made uſe of any means they could. Sometimes the Prieſts for want of Altars, made the Conſecration upon the hands of the Deacons; and that Illuſtrious Martyr St. *Lucian* of *Antioch*, being ſo ſtaked down that he could not ſtir, made the Conſecration on his own Breaſt. One may well imagin with what force of Exhortation theſe Adminiſtrations were attended. All the Church look'd upon theſe holy Priſoners as it were already Crowned in Heaven. They had a great influence upon the Prelates to obtain favour on the behalf of thoſe whoſe weakneſs had betrayed them into Idolatry; inſomuch, that it was found neceſſary to preſcribe ſome Cautions and Limitations againſt the indiſcreet Recommendations of ſome of the Confeſſors.

Acta apud Bar. anno 311.

Cypr. de Laps. & ep. x. xi. xii, *&c.*

XVIII. Their care of Reliques.

WHITHERSOEVER the Perſecutors carried the Martyrs, the reſt of the Faithful followed them; whether it were to the Rack or to the Execution: For the places of Execution were generally without the Walls of the City, and there the greateſt part of the Martyrs, having either

either by the ſtrength of Nature, or by Miracle out lived their Torments, were beheaded; thither did the faithful in vaſt numbers follow them, crowding the Streets as they paſſed along, and ſtanding by them to the laſt, both to admire their Conſtancy, and by their Examples to fortify themſelves againſt the like Trials. They carefully obſerved the laſt Words that came from their Mouths, which generally were Prayers: as that of St. *Polycarp*, recorded in the Epiſtle of the Church of *Smirna*; as alſo the Hymn of St. *Athenogenes*, an old Divine of the ſame Age, which he ſung with a Joyful Heart juſt as he was entring into the Flames, and left a Copy of it to his Diſciples. Many times alſo the ſtanders by encouraged the Martyrs. *Origen* often hazarded his Life upon ſuch Occaſions; and there are many Examples of thoſe who ſuffered Martyrdom themſelves, for having exhorted others to it, as thoſe mentioned in the Epiſtle of St. *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, and in the famous Epiſtle of the Church of *Vienna*.

Ap Euſeb. 4. Hiſt. 15. Martyrol. xviii. Januar.

Euſeb. vi. Hiſt. 3.

Ap. Euſeb. iv. Hiſt. 34

Ap. Euſ. v. Hiſt. i.

The Faithful undauntedly ſtood by their Martyrs while they were under their Torments, to receive in Spunges or pieces of Linnen, the Blood that ſtreamed from their Wounds, and to preſerve it in Vials and put it in the Sepulchres with their Bodies.

Martyrol. Rom. iii. Feb. idem. iii Jun. de S. Paula.

dies. Seven Women were put to Death for having thus gathered up the drops of the Blood of St. *Blæsus*. And when St. *Cyprian* was Beheaded, the Faithful spread pieces of Linnen Cloth all about him, to receive his Blood: They were no less careful to carry off the Bodies of the Martyrs, or gather up the remainders of them; for there was often nothing left of them but Bones or Ashes; as when they were burnt to Death or devoured by wild Beasts: And thence came the name of Reliques. They spared no expences to redeem them out of the Hands of the Executioner, and give them an honourable Interment: And this very thing cost many of them their own Lives. There are many Examples of those who suffered Martyrdom themselves, for having kissed the dead Bodies of the Martyrs, or for having hindered others from insulting them after their Death, or for having searched for their Corps, to give them Christian Burial. Some have been thrown into the Common Shoars for having drawn out of them the Bodies of the Saints. St. *Asterius* the Senator, gained to himself the Crown of Martyrdom, by his having been seen to carry on his Shoulders the Dead Body of a Martyr. The Disciples of St. *Ignatius* carried his Reliques as far as from *Rome* to *Antioch*.

Pont. Diac.

V Acta SS. Thara. &c. an. 290. *& St. Bonif. an.* 505. *Martyr. Rom.* xxi. *Aug. de S. Paterno.*

Martyr. Rom. xvii. *Feb. de S. Juliano* vii *Dec. de S. Agathone.* v. *Mart. de S. Nicandro.* xxi. *Aug. de S. Paterno.* iii. *Mart. de S. Asterio.* xvii. *Dec.* xxvi. *Aug. de S. Irenæo & Abundio.*

This

This care which the Christians shewed to preserve the Reliques of the Saints, made their Persecutors on the other side as careful to mangle and tear asunder the Bodies of the Martyrs after their Death, and scatter abroad every part, and particle of them: And thus they thought they should lessen their Hopes of a future Resurrection. *You do but abuse your selves*, (said they) *with false hopes, in imagining that your Bodies shall be preserved to that Day; you expect to receive them again; you think to have them embalmed and wrapt up in the rich dresses those Women infatuated with your idle Fancies, designed to bestow upon them; but leave that care to us, we'll see your Bodies fairly disposed of.* They cast them to be devoured by wild Beasts: they threw their Corps among those of the Gladiators, or other Malefactors; they tied great Stones to their Bodies, and so cast them into deep Rivers; they burnt them and scattered their Ashes in the Air. But for all these Precautions, the greatest part of their Reliques were preserved, either by the extraordinary Zeal of the Faithful, or by the Miracles which God himself often wrought upon these Occasions.

Roma. Subterran. l. i. *c.* ii. iii.

Epist. Eccles vien. apud. Eus. v. *c.* i.

Acta S. Tharaci. &c.

Prudent. de S. Vinc.

As soon as they had laid the Bones of the Martyrs in their Tombs, they paid great Honours to the Tombs themselves, where they lay. *After they had put S.* Laurence

Ap. Bar. in Martyr. IX. *Aug.*

rence *in the Grave,* (saith the Acts) *They Fasted and watched there three Nights together, with a vast concourse of Christians. The Priest St.* Justin *offered the Sacrifice, and they all Communicated.* Many Saints have suffered Martyrdom for being taken Watching or Praying at the Sepulchres of the Martyrs, or Celebrating their Feasts; which was Annually done, as appaers by the Testimonies of *Tertullian* and *Cyprian.*

Martyr. xvii. *Janu: de S.S. Diodoro &c.* xii. *Aug. de S. Hilaria.* xiv. *Febr. de S.S. Proculo &c.* xxiii. *Janu. de S. Emerent.* *Tertull. de Coronâ. c.* iii. *Cypr. Ep.* xxxiv.

XIX. The Confessors.

THEY whose Lives they spared were either Banished at large or else obliged to suffer that which the *Roman's* called *Deportation,* which was a more Rigorous sort of Banishment, and accounted a Civil Death. These Exiles were sent either into the less Inhabited Islands, or into Barbarous Countries, upon the Frontiers of the Empire. Banishment at large was for Persons of the best Quallities; Deportation for those of a lower Condition: but the meanest of all were commonly condemned to labour in the publick Works, especially in the Mines. They were made Slave to the states, and therefore generally had a mark Branded on their Forehead with a Red-Hot-Iron, by which they might be known if they made their escape. They had always Iron on their Leggs, were poorly Fed, pitifully Clad, often Beaten and wretchedly abused;

V. Serm. Cypr. ad Martyr.

Inscripti.

sed.; in short, their Condition was at least as miserable, as is now that of Gally-Slaves. Their Fellow Christians took great care to Relieve them, and as much as was possible to make the hardships put upon them more Tolerable. All those that Dyed in this condition, for the Faith, were counted in the number of Martyrs: And they who ever returned out of their Exile or Slavery, were placed in the Rank of Confessors: For this was a Name given in Common to all those who had undergon any Suffering for the Faith, and generally to all those who had made a publick Confession of their Faith before the Judges. They had great Honours paid them all the rest of their Lives, and were often Advanced to Holy Orders for their Constancy.

Const. Apost. v. c. i. 3.

Martyr. xi Dec. de S. Thrasone.

XX. Excommunication and Pennance.

BUT as for such who had been Overcome by Persecution, So as to have Renounced their Faith, though it were Purely out of Weakness and under the Violence of Torments, yet unless they Submitted to do publick Pennance, they were Excommunicated. Excommunication deprived them not onely of the use of the Sacraments, but also debarred them from entring the Church, or holding any correspondence with the Faithful. No Man would Eat with them or so much as speak

Const. Apost. v. c. ii.

ſpeak to them; every one ſhunned them, as one would do Perſons infected with the Plague. And ſo St. *Paul* commands that wicked Chriſtians ſhould be more ſhun'd than even the Heathens themſelves; for from the Heathens they could not abſolutely Separate without going out of the World. Nor were the Apoſtates to Idolatry the onely Perſons thus uſed: The ſame Diſcipline paſſed upon Hereticks, Schiſmaticks and all notorious Offenders. For there were ſome bad Chriſtians even in the beſt Times of the Church. St. *Paul* writing to the *Corinthians*, complains that there were among them many Perſons guilty of Groſs Uncleaneſs, who had not done Pennance for their Sins: And to the *Philippians*, that there were many among them whom he calls Enemies to the Croſs of Chriſt. Such as theſe were cut off from the Congregation of the Faithful. There were ſcarce any but Biſhops or Prieſts that might Converſe with them, and they onely in order to bring them to Repentance, ſo long as there was any hopes of it. Beſides they did not ceaſe to Pray for them. And thus they treated thoſe who did not offer themſelves to Pennance.

1 *Cor.* v. 9. 10.

2. *Cor.* xii. 21.

Phil. iii. 18.

Epiſt. Cleri Rom. ad Cypr. xxxi.

As for thoſe that did, they were received with a great Compaſſion, but tempered with Diſcretion. They were made

made to understand that this was a favour not over hastily to be granted, and therefore they commonly took some time to try whether their Return was hearty and sincere. Pennance was Imposed publickly in the Church; where the Offender Clothed in Sackcloth, and covered with Ashes, threw himself down in the midst of the Congregation; embraced the Knees of the Faithful, and kissed their Feet, to move their Compassion and obtain their Prayers; to which the Bishop also Exhorted them in a discourse particularly made upon that occasion. The Penitent was still kept upon Tryal, and enjoyned many Laborious Exercises. They obliged him to Fast either constantly, or at least very often, and live only on Bread and Water or some such hard Fare; proportioning his Abstinence according to the strength of his Nature, the grievousness of his Sin, and the fervour of his Repentance. They caused him to continue in Prayer for a long time together, either kneeling upon his Knees, or lying flat upon the Ground: To watch, to lye upon the bare Ground, to give Alms according to his Abillity. During the time of his Pennance, he was to abstaine not only from all Recreations, but also from ordinary Conversation to keep no Company, meddle with no Business, nor have any com-

Tertull. de Pœnitent. c. xi. *& de Pudic. c.* xiii.

communication somuch as with the Faithful themselves, except in Cases of great Necessity. He went to the Church, but twas only to hear the Sermon and Prayers, and was not admitted to the Sacrament.

In the mean time the Bishop, either in his own Person, Visited the Penitents, or sent some Priest to Examin and deal with them according to the Dispositions he found in them, upon which he was very exact in making his Observations: Some he awakened with Terrors, and to others he administred Consolations; variously accommodating his Applications to the quality of the Patient and the symptoms of the Distemper. For the *Prelats* looked upon the discipline of Pennance as a sort of Spiritual Phisick, and concluded that the Cure of a Diseased Soul required at least as much Skill, and Management, and Patience, and Attendance as that of the Body: For they knew that vicious Habits are not to be removed but by a long Course of time and a most exact Regimen. Thus in time Pennance came to be distinguished into its different Degrees, and to have the term of its Continuance Stated. But all that depended much upon the Descreton of the Bishops. As they were careful not to discourage their Penitents by too excessive a Severity

Const. Apost. lib. 2. c. 61. 7, &c.

Ibid. xli.

Chrysost. ii. *Sacerd. init.*

Ambros. in Psalm. 37. & 3. *Epist.* xix.

Epist Can. S. Greg. Thaum

Epist. Can. Petr. Alex.

Cypr. Ep. 52. *ad Antonian.*

which

which might make them become Desperate, and prove a Temptation to them to Relinquish the Faith, and to Revolt to Paganism: So on the other hand they found it necessary to check their Impatience; as knowing that nothing could be more Hurtful to them than too early an Absolution. A perfect Reconciliation was never granted till they saw it sought for with Tears, and Merited by an Effectual Reformation of their Manners. There was nothing to be got by Importunities, much less by Menaces. Those Bishops who outbraved the Persecutions of the Heathens, were not to be frightned with Words from their own Children. The time of Pennance was always long, at least unless there were some special Reason for the shortning of it; as the Extraordinary fervour of the Penitent, a mortal Distemper, or present Persecution: For in such a Cases they were careful not to let them Dye without the Sacraments. This Dispensation which shorten'd the Regular Pennance was called Indulgence, and was often granted upon the request of Confessors in Prison or Exile.

Cler. Rom. ep. 31

Cypr. Ep. lv. ad Corn.

V. S. Cypr. Ep. li. Epist. 3. apud Cypr, &c.

If the Penitent during the time of his Pennance, committed any new Crime, he was obliged to begin his Pennance again. If they saw his Punishment did no good

good upon him, nor produced any change in his Life, they let him continue in that State; not admitting him to the Sacraments; and if after having received Absolution, he relapsed into any hanious Sin, there were no more Sacraments for him: For publick Pennance was never granted for more than one time: All they could now do, was to pray for him, and to Exhort him to Repentance and newness of Life, and to bid him have hope in the Mercies of God, which are boundless. There were some Sins, for which, the Pennance how sincerely and fully soever performed, was to continue one's whole Life time; after the Commission of which the Communion was never to be given, but upon the point of Death. Apostates who never prayed, Pennance till they saw themselves in danger of Death, were not then admitted to it: And though it was granted in that Extremity to other sorts of Sinners; yet they did but little depend upon that Repentance, which look'd as if it had been forced upon Men only by the present dread of Punishment. They who had been once placed among the Penitents, though Absolved and Reconciled; yet could never after that be capable of receiving holy Orders, or of being advanced to any Ecclesiastical Ministry. And if a Priest or any Clerk

S. August. Epist. liv. *ad Maced.* c. vii.

Cypr ep. liii. *ad Anton.* *Conc. Arel.* i. c. xxii.

Clerk had committed a Sin deſerving publick Pennance; he only loſt his ſtation in the Church; that is, he was for ever after Interdicted the Exerciſe of his Function, and reduced to the ſtate of a ſimple Laick. But that they might not puniſh the ſame fault twice over, and out of Reverence to the Sacrament of Orders, they impoſed on him no other Pennance.

Can. Apoſt. xxiv.

If any one ſhall wonder at this Diſcipline of the Ancients, let him conſider that the Sins to which Pennance was due, were in thoſe Days rarely known among Chriſtians; for as with us, Perſons of Honour, who are well Educated and ſetled in the World, ſeldom fall into thoſe Crimes which bring them ſo far under the laſh of the Law, as to make them liable to the infamy of Publick Puniſhments; ſo of old, it did not often happen that Chriſtians ſo carefully admitted, and ſo well inſtructed, ſhould be guilty of Adultery, Homicide, or other ſuch like hanious Sins which deſerved Death. *Tertullian* declares that the Catholicks were eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the Hereticks, by the difference of their Behaviour; and he boldly upbraids the Heathen, that their Goals were filled with none but Heathens like themſelves; or if any Chriſtians were there, it was upon

De præſcript. c. xli. xlii. *Apol. c.* iv, v.

no

no other account but barely for their being Christians: *Or if* (saith he) *any other Crime can be laid to their charge, they are no longer Christians. Innocence with us is a necessary Vertue; we understand it perfectly, as having learned it of God who is the best Master, and we practice it with the greatest Care, as being obliged to it by that Judge whom we must not dispise.*

XXI. Ascetick, Virgins, Widows, Deaconesses.

THERE were some Christians who Practiced all the Exercises of Pennance without being obliged to them, and without being excluded the Sacraments; but then it was out of their own voluntary Devotion, in imitation of the Lives of the Prophets and St. *John* the Baptist, and following the Councils of St. *Paul*, for *Exercising themselves unto Godliness, and keeping under the Body to bring it into Subjection.* These were called *Ascetick*s; that is to say, Exercisants. They generally kept themselves close shut up in their own Houses, where they lived in great retirement; adding to the usual Frugality of Christians, some extraordinary Fasts and Abstinences. They kept themselves to what they called *Xerophagy*, that is feeding only upon dry Diets, and held out their Fasts to two or three Days together, or some times longer. They accustomed themselves to wear Sackcloth

1 *Tim.* iv. 7. 1 *Cor.* ix. 27.

cloth, to walk Bare-Foot, to ſleep upon the Ground, to Watch the greateſt part af the Night, to be conſtantly reading the holy Scriptures, and as much as was poſſible to Pray without ceaſing. *Origen* for ſome time led this Life; and many of theſe *Aſceticks* became great Biſhops and Doctors.

Euſeb. Hiſt. vi. c. iii.

Hier. de Script. 87. in pierio.

All the *Aſceticks* lived in great Continence, and all Chriſtians in general highly admired that Vertue ſo much recommended by *Jeſus Chriſt* and his Apoſtles. A young Man of *Alexandria*, under the reign of the Emperor *Antonine*, preſented a Petition to the Governour of that City, that he might have a Surgeon allowed him to make him an Eunuch; and many there were who did ſo in good earneſt; ſo that the Church was obliged to make a Law on purpoſe to repreſs that indiſcreet Zeal.

Juſt. Orat. ad Anton. Pium.

Can. Nic. i.

There were a great number alſo of young Perſons of the Female Sex, who Conſecrated their Virginity to God either by the Advice of their Parents, or of their own proper Motion: Theſe Virgins led the *Aſcetick* Life; for they did not look upon Virginity as any thing, if it were not attended with great Mortification, with Silence, Retirement, Poverty, Labour, Faſtings, Watchings, and continual Praying. They were not eſteem-

v Hier. Ep. de Aſellâ.

ed

ed as Virgins who would not deny themſelves the common Diverſions of the World, even the moſt Innocent; as the taking too great a delight in Converſation, the affecting a Pleaſantneſs and agreeableneſs of Humour and Diſcourſe, ſo as to make a ſhew of their Wit and Ingenuity; much leſs would they endure thoſe that ſet up for *Bells*, for Dreſſing, Perfuming Long-Trains, and moving with an affected Air. St. *Cyprian* recommends ſcarce any thing elſe to Chriſtian Virgins but the renouncing all the vain Ornaments of the Body and Oſtentation of Beauty. He well knew how fond young Women are of ſuch gaudy Trifles, and of how pernicious a Conſequence they might prove to thoſe of their Profeſſion. In the firſt Ages the Virgins Conſecrated to God, generally lived at home with their Parents, or in private by themſelves, two and two together, never going abroad but when they went to Church, where they had a place allotted them to ſit by themſelves, ſeparate from the reſt of the Women. If any one violated her Holy Reſolution and Married, ſhe was enjoined Pennance.

Cypr. de Hab. Virg.

Ambros de virg. laps. c. vi.

The Widows who renounced ſecond Marriage, paſſed their time much after the ſame manner as the Virgins, in Faſtings, Praying, and the other Exerciſes of the *Aſcetick* Life; but they did not keep them-

v Hier. in Ep. Paulæ.

themſelves ſo cloſe ſhut up, as being more employed in the outward Acts of Charity, as in viſiting and relieving the Sick and Impriſoned, and more eſpecially the Martyrs and Confeſſors; in taking care of the Poor, in entertaining and attending upon Strangers, in burying the Dead, and generally in the Offices of Charity: And indeed all Chriſtian Women, whether Married or Widows, made theſe kind of Works the greateſt of their Employment, rarely appearing abroad, but upon the doing of ſome good Office, or when they went to Church. But the Widows being more at liberty from other Engagements, didicated themſelves wholly to theſe Services: If they were Rich, they liberally Diſtributed their Alms; if they were Poor, the Church maintained them. They choſe for their Deaconeſſes the moſt Aged of their Widows, of Sixty years or upward; the moſt diſcreet, and thoſe who had beſt approv'd themſelves in all the Exerciſes of Charity: This Office was alſo ſometimes aſſigned to Virgins. They were called Deaconeſſes, not as if they were counted of the Clergy; for Women cannot partake of any part of the Prieſt-hood; but becauſe they exerciſed toward the Women ſome part of the Deacons Office. Their buſineſs was to viſit thoſe of their own Sex, whom Poverty,

Tertul. ad uxor. c. iv.

1 *Tim.* v. 9.

v *Conſt. Apoſt. l.* iii.

Conſt. Apoſ. vi. *c.* xvi.

verty, Sickneſs, or any other diſtreſs rendred proper Objects of the Churches care; to inſtruct the Female *Catechumens*, or rather to repeat to them the Inſtructions of the *Catechiſt*. They preſented them to Baptiſm; and upon that occaſion aſſiſted them in dreſſing and undreſſing them, and for ſometime after over looked theſe new Converts, to break and Diſcipline them into a Chriſtian Behaviour. In the Church, they kept the doors on the Womens ſide, took care to ſee every one ſeated in her proper place, and that all behaved themſelves there with a Silence and Modeſty becoming the Place. The Deaconeſſes gave an account of every thing they did to the Biſhop, or by his Order to the Prieſts or Deacons. They ſerved Principally to inform the Church of the Neceſſaries of the other Women, and to do for them by their directions, thoſe things which they could not with decency perform in their own Perſons. *Con. Apoſt.* iii.

There was required a more than Ordinary ſhare of Patience and Diſcretion in the Prelates to Govern all theſe Women. To keep up theſe Deaconeſſes to that Sobriety and Induſtry, which was ſo neceſſary for their Office, but difficult for their Age; to keep them from growing either too eaſie and credulous in their charge,

or from being troubleſome, maliciouſly curious, Cholerick and exceſſively Severe. Care alſo was to be taken leſt under the pretence of Catechiſing, they ſhould ſet up themſelves for Spiritual Directreſſes and Judges; leſt they ſhould ſpeak indiſcreetly concerning the Myſteries; leſt they ſhould miſreport matters, and ſpread abroad Errors and Falſities; leſt they ſhould prove great Talkers, and giddy Ramblers and buſey-bodies. There was required alſo a wonderful gentleneſs of Spirit, to bear with the Infirmities of the other Women and Widows, beſides Deaconeſſes. and to cure them of their weakneſſes, as Sadneſs, Emulation, Envy, Evil-ſpeaking, Exceptiouſneſs, and Murmuring, even againſt their Paſtors themſelves; in a Word, all thoſe ill Diſpoſitions uſually attending their Sex and Age; eſpecially when 'tis attended with Poverty, Sickneſs, or any other ſuch like uneaſy preſſure.

Conſt. Apo. iii. *c.* v.67.

Chryſ. iii. *de Sacerd.*

XXII. Their care of the Poor.

THE Church took care of all her Poor, of what Age or Sex ſo ever; but they did not count thoſe Poor that were able to work for their living; becauſe they were in a Condition of not being burdenſom to any, and in a Capacity of aſſiſting the other Poor: Nor did they think it ſufficient for a Chriſtian to labour juſt

juſt enough for his own Subſiſtence, but that he ought alſo to contribute toward the maintaining of thoſe who could do nothing for themſelves: Beſides, the Civil Law had made Proviſion againſt luſty Beggars and Vagrants. For as ſlavery was as yet in uſe; if they were free, they were forced to ſerve the Publick, and labour in tilling the Earth as Slaves to the State, or if they were Slaves before, any one that would, might ſeize them. It was the ſame caſe with expoſed Children or Foundlings. They belonged to any one that would take them and be at the Charge of bringing them up; ſo that there were ſcarce any other Beggars but old Slaves, whoſe Maſters were Inhuman enough to caſt them off, when they were paſt their Labour; or thoſe that were Blind, Maimed, or otherwiſe diſabled.

v. Baſil. Reg. fus. inter al. xlii, *&c.*

L. vii. *Cod. de Mend valid. l.* xi.

Colonatu perpetuo fulciatur.

Argument: l. iii. *Cod. de inf. expos.*

And theſe the Chriſtians took into their Care. *Prudentius* hath given us a draught of them in the Deſcription he makes of thoſe which St. *Laurence* preſented to the *Præfect* of *Rome* as the Treaſures of the Church. They took care of Children alſo: as in the firſt place, the Orphans of Chriſtian Parents, and eſpecially the Martyrs; next they took into their keeping, Children expoſed, and all others they could get into their Hands, to breed them up in the true Religion: For in all this care they

Periſteph. 2.

Conſt. Apoſt. iv. c. i, ii.

took of the Poor, their principal regard was to their Spiritual Concerns, and to their Temporal Welfare only in order to their Spiritual. Therefore in their Charity, they always preferred Chriſtians before Infidels; and among Chriſtians, thoſe that were moſt remarkable for Vertue were taken care of firſt; but as for the incorrigible, they left them to ſhift for themſelves. They would not ſo much as receive Alms indifferently from any one that offered it: They would not accept of it from Perſons Excommunicated, or from Publick and Notorious Sinners; as Uſurers and Adulterers. They choſe rather to expoſe their Poor to the want of Neceſſaries; or more properly ſpeaking, to truſt divine Providence with them, which could otherwiſe provide for them.

Conſt. Apoſt. iv. c. v, vi, vii. ix.

Every Church raiſed a good Fund for the ſubſiſting of its Poor, entertaining Strangers, Burying of the Dead, and other ſuch like common Expences, as the providing for its Clerks, the Luminary, the ſacred Veſſels, and all the reſt. The Church of *Rome*, under the Pope St. *Cornelius*, *An.* 250. maintained one hundred and fifty four Clerks, and more then fifteen hundred Poor; and beſides that, from its firſt Foundation during all the time of the Perſecutions, it always took care to ſend large Supplies to the Poor Churches

v. Bar. an. 44. *n.* lxviii. *&c.*

Tertull. Apol. c. xxxix.

Euſeb. lib. vi. *c.* xliii.

Churches of the Provinces, and to the Confessors condemned to the Mines: The common Goods of the Church for the three first Ages, consisted in few things else but Moveables, in Provisions, Cloaths and ready Money; all which arose out of the Offerings made by the Faithful Weekly or Monthly, or as every one was pleased to make of himself: For in these Offerings there was nothing fix'd or Constrained. As for Lands, the Persecution made both the purchase and the keeping of them any long time Impracticable.

Epist. Dion Corinth. ap Euseb. iv. *c.* xxiii.

v Acta Colon Cirtens. an. xxx.

Tertull. Apol. c. 39.

And these were the Treasures of the Church the Heathens were so eager to get into their own Hands, and which often proved one principal cause of the Persecutions; as appears by the example of St. *Laurence*: It belonged to the Deacons to take care of all these things. It was their business to receive all that was offered for the common uses of the Church, to see it carefully laid up, and safely kept, and to distribute it according to the direction of the Bishop, who ordered the disposal of it according to the account he received from them of the particular occasions of those that wanted Relief: They were to inform themselves of these Particulars, and report them to the Bishop; and to keep exact Lists both of the Clerks

Prudent. peri. Steph. Hymn ii.

v. Bar. an. xxxiv. *n.* 227.

the Virgins, the Widows, and all the other Poor, whose dependance was on the Church; to enquire into all Persons when they first presented themselves to the Churches Charity, and to inspect the Behaviour of those already received into it; to observe whether thy were worthy of that relief; to provide Lodgings for Strangers, and to consider by *whom* and *how* those Expences should be defraied. Upon all occasions the *Laicks* had either to desire any thing of the Bishop, or to Communicate any thing to him, they first Addressed themselves to the Deacons, for they would not press and intrude upon the Bishop himself, both out of respect to his Person, and for fear of being troublesom; So that the Deacons led a very busy, Active Life. It was necessary for them to walk much about the Town; and sometimes they were obliged to take longer Journies and Travail abroad; and for that reason, they had neither Cloaks, nor any of the larger sort of Garments worn by the Priests; but only *Tuniques* and *Dalmaticks* to be always more at liberty, for Action and Motion.

Const. Apost. iii. c. xix.

Const. Apost. ii. c. 28.

Const. Apost. ii. c. lvii.

XXIII. Their Hospitality.

HOSPITALITY was commonly used even amongst the Heathens themselves. Among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, their Inns and Publick-Houses of Entertain-

tainments were rarely frequented by Perſons of any Faſhion or Quality. In every Town where their Concerns might lead them, they took care to make themſelves ſome particular Friend; in whoſe Family they might be entertained during their Abode in that Place; repaying their Friend who entertained them the like Kindneſs at their own Houſes, if his occaſions ever brought him that way. This uſage grew to Preſcription in Families. It was the principal cement of Friendſhip and Correſpondence between the Cities of *Greece* and *Italy*; and afterward ſpread over the whole *Roman* Empire. Nay ſo ſacred was this Priviledge of Entertainment, that they made it a part of their Religion. *Jupiter*, ſaid they, Preſided over the Affair; both the Perſons entertained, and the Table at which they Eate were counted Sacred. *Vide Thomaſſin de Teſſer. Hoſpital.*

'Tis no wonder then that the Chriſtians ſhould be ſo forward in Exerciſing Hoſpitality, who looked upon themſelves as Friends and Brothers to one another; and who knew that Jeſus Chriſt had recommended Hoſpitality, as one of the moſt Meritorious Performances. If a Sranger diſcovered to them that he made Profeſſion of the Orthodox Faith, and lived in the Communion of the Church, they received him with open Arms. He *Mat.* xxv. 35.

that

that ſhould have ſhut his Doors againſt ſuch an One, would have been thought to have ſhut out Jeſus Chriſt himſelf. But firſt they Expected that he ſhould make himſelf fully known. To that purpoſe thoſe that Travailed, took with them Letters from their Biſhop: And theſe Letters had certain Marks, known only to Chriſtians among themſelves. Theſe Letters gave an account of the Quality and Condition of the Bearer; whether he was a Catholick; whether after having been an Heretick or Excommunicate he was again Reconciled; whether a Catechumen or a Penitent; whether in Holy Orders, and in what Degree of Orders: For the Clergy never Travailed without Dimiſſory Letters from their Biſhops. They had alſo their Recommendatory Letters to Diſtinguiſh Perſons of Merit; as Confeſſors, or Doctors, or thoſe who ſtood in need of any particular Aſſiſtance.

V. Baron An. 142. *n.* 7.

V. Prior. de Lit. Canon.

The firſt Act of Hoſpitality was to waſh the Feet of their Gueſts. Inſtances of which we meet with often in Scripture. And this was but a neceſſary Refreſhment, conſidering what ſort of Shoes they anciently Wore. And therefore St. *Paul* joyns the Lodging of Strangers and the waſhing of their Feet together. If the Gueſt was in full Commu-

Manners of the Iſraelites. in Engliſh. Pag. 77.

1 *Tim.* v. 10.

nion

nion with the Church, they joyned in Prayer, and gave him all the reſpect of the Houſe: As to Pray before them, to ſit uppermoſt at Table, to Inſtruct the Family. They counted themſelves Happy in having his Company, and looked upon their Meat as in ſome ſort Sanctifyed by his taking part with them. The Clergy were every where Honoured proportionably to the Station they held in the Church. If a Biſhop Traveled, he was in all places where he paſſed, invited to perform the Office, and to Preach among them; ſhewing thereby the Unity of the Prieſt-hood and of the Church. There have been ſome Saints to whom their Hoſpitality in entertaining the Clergy or ſuch others as came to preach the Goſpel, proved the occaſion of their Martyrdom; as the Famous St. *Alban* in *England* and St. *Gentian* at *Amiens*.

Conſt. Ap. ii. *c.* 58.

Martyr. xxii. *Jun.* *id.* 11. *Decem.*

The Chriſtians were Hoſpitable even toward the Infidels themſelves. Thus they Executed with a great Forwardneſs of Affection, the orders of their Prince, obliging them to Lodge his Soldiers, Officers, or others Travailing upon the Service of the State, and to furniſh them with Proviſions. St. *Pacomus* having Liſted himſelf very Young into the *Roman* Army, he and the Party to which he belonged were Embarqued on Ship board, and

Vie de St. Pacomre.c. iv.

and Landed at a certain little City: were he was amazed to ſee with what Civilities the Inhabitants received them; Treating them not like Soldiers, but as if they had been their Old Friends and Acquaintance. And upon inquiry who they were, he was told they were a People of a particular Religion, called Chriſtians. From that time he informed himſelf of their Doctrine; and this was the Occaſion of his Converſion.

XXIV. Their Care of the Sick and Burial of the Dead. *Mat.* xxv. 36. *Dionys. Alex. ap. Euſeb. 7. Hiſt.* c. 22.

THE Chriſtians took great care to viſit the Sick, an Office of Charity, ſo much Recommended in the Goſpel. The City of *Alexandria* being afflicted with a great Mortality under the Emperor *Valerian*, The Chriſtians readily took that opportunity of ſhewing their Charity even towards their Perſecutors. They ſo freely offered themſelves to aſſiſt the Sick under their Extremities; that many both of the Clergy and Laicks Dyed themſelves of the common Diſtemper, and were honoured as Martyrs. The Prieſts viſited ſuch Chriſtians as were Sick to Comfort them, to Pray by them, and Adminiſter to them the Sacraments. In ſuch Caſes the Viaticum was given only under the Species of Bread, and in caſe of Neceſſity might be carryed to them by a Laick, as appears by the Hiſtory of Old *Serapion*.

Be-

Beſides the unction of the Conſecrated Oil, adminiſtred by the authority of St. *James*, Sick Perſons were often recovered by the Application of another Oil, called the *Oleum Benedictum* or Bleſſed Oil, which was Indifferently applyed either to the Faithful or Infidels, either by Prieſts or Laicks, according as they had received the gift of Miracles; ſome times they made uſe of the Oil of the Lamps for this purpoſe, which were kept Burning before the Tombs of the Martyrs.

Euſeb. vi. *Hiſt.* xliv. *Jam.* 5. 14.

V. Baron. an. lxiii. *n.* 16.

The Heathen having no hopes after this Life ended, looked upon Death either purely as an Evil which deprived them of the Enjoyments of this World, or as an *Aunihilation* that Delivere them from all the Sufferings of it. There were ſcarce any among them that gave any Credit to the Fabulous Tales of the Poets concerning the Puniſhments and Rewards of another Life. So that as for Dying Perſons their Buſineſs with them was not to Inſtruct or Exhort, but to Divert them; and as for themſelves, their only care was to prolong as far as was poſſible the Pleaſures of Life. The only Rule they had to goe by was, as St. *Paul* after the Prophet *Iſaia* Expreſſes it, *Let us Eat and Drink for to Morrow we Dye.* And this is the Point in which *Horace* Terminates all his Morals. And the Death

Adeone me delirare cenſes, ut iſta credam? Cic. Tus. Queſt. l. i. *n.* vi. *Nec Pueri credunt. Juven.*

Iſ. xxii. 13. 1 *Cor.* xv. 31.

Tacit. Annal. xvi. Death of *Petronius* under *Nero* is one of the fulleſt Inſtances I have met with of theſe Principles reduced into Practice. Thoſe that were more Grave and Serious endeavoured to Support themſelvs by the Maxims of Philoſophy, ſeeking thereby to Baniſh out of their Minds the Terrors of Death, and to learn the Art of being willing to Dye.

The Chriſtians proceeding upon other Principles, looked upon Death only as an Entrance upon Eternity. So that leading good Lives, as moſt of them did, they ſaw cauſe rather to wiſh for Death than to Dread it; and the preſent loſs of their Friends or Relations, was the leſs afflicting, for the hopes of their Happineſs; and the expectation of ſeeing them in Heaven, made their Satisfacton excel their Grief- They looked upon Death to be only in the Language of the Scripture, a *1. King. ii. 10. 11. xliii. 14. 20, &c.* Sleep; and thence comes the Name which they gave their Places of *Buryal*, a *Cemitery*, which in Greek ſigniſies a *Dormitory*. In farther Teſtimony of their Belief of the Reſurrection of the Fleſh, they took great care about the Sepulchres of the Dead; and according to their ſeveral Abilities, were at great Expences upon them. They did not burn the Bodies of their Dead as the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and as little did they approve of the Curioſity

rioſity of the *Ægyptians*, who Embalmed the Bodies of their Dead, and kept them by them in their Houſes lying upon Beds expoſed to open View. St. *Antony* Vigorouſly oppoſed this Cuſtome which continued in uſe to his time. *Vie S. Ant. c.* xxxi.

The Chriſtians buryed their Dead after the manner of the *Jews*. They firſt waſhed, then Embalmed them; Employing (ſaith *Tertullian*) more Perfumes and Aromatick Gums in this uſe, than the Heathens did in their Sacrifices. They Wrapped them up in fine Linnen, or Silk, and ſome times put them on rich Habits. They laid them forth for the ſpace of three Days; during which time they conſtantly attended the Dead Body, and paſſed thoſe Days in Watching and Praying by it. Then they carryed it to the Grave, accompanying the Corps with Torches and Flambeaus, with ſinging of Pſalms and Hymns to the Praiſe of God, and in Teſtimony of their Hope of the Reſurrection. They made Prayers alſo on their behalf; offered the Sacrifice, and made their *Agape* or *Love-Feaſt* for the Poor, diſtributing likewiſe other Alms among them. At the end of the Year they made a freſh Commemoration for them, and ſo from Year to Year, beſides the ſtanding Commemoration for the dead always joined with the Sacrifice. *V. Baron. an.* xxxiv. *n.* 310. &c. *Apol* c. xlii. *Conſt. Apoſt.* vi. *c. ult.* viii. *c.* xli. 42. &c, *Prud. Hym. in Exeq.* *Tertul. de. Cor Mil. c.* iii. *Orig. in Job. Hom.* iii. *Cypr. ep.* lxvi.

The

The Church had Officers appointed on purpose for the Burying of their Dead, who were called Grave-makers or Labourers, and who are sometimes reckoned among the Clergy. The Priests and Bishops themselves looked upon the Employment as an Honour; and St. *Eutychian* the Pope, who was himself a Martyr, is reported to have Interred with his own Hands the Bodies of three hundred and forty two Martyrs. There were often together with the Body put into the Sepulchre several other things, either as marks of honour to the deceased, or to preserve his Memory; as the Badges of his Dignity, the Instruments of his Martyrdom, Vials or Spunges filled with his Blood, the Acts of his Martyrdom, an Epitaph on him, or at least his Name, Medals, Leaves of *Laurel* or of some other *Ever-green*, some Crosses and the Gospel. They used to lay the Body on its Back, the Face turned to the East. The Heathens, to preserve the Memory of their Dead, Built stately Sepulchres over them; either by the sides of the great Roads, or in the open Fields. The Christans on the contrary, removed their Dead out of Sight, either after the common way of Interment, or laying them in Vaults under Ground; such as were the *Tombs* or *Catacombs* near *Rome*.

Fossores. laborantes. vid. Bar. an. xiv. *n.* 288.

Martyr. viii. *Dec.*

V. Tamiss. Disc. p. ii. *liv.* iii. *c.* xiii. xiv.

These

These *Catacombs* were places under Ground, cut out of Quarries of soft and brittle Stone, or hollowed out of the Beds of Sand; thus contrived by the Christians for their Burying Places: There are winding Staires leading down to them, and long Walks or Streets which have on each side of them, cut into the Earth two or three rows of deep Nitches, in which the Bodies were placed at *first*; for *now* the greatest part of them are taken away. At certain distances from each other, are spacious Chambers, vaulted over and Solid as the rest, having also Nitches cut in them like those of the Walks. The greatest part of these Chambers are painted with divers Histories of the old and new Testament; as their Churches also were wont to be. And in some of these Cæmiteries, there are Subterranean Churches: In many of them there have been found Marble Coffins, adorned with Figures of *Bass Relief*, representing the same Histories as the Paintings do. These were the Sepulchres of the most considerable Persons; every one of these Cæmiteries is like a City under Ground, and some of them two or three Stories deep: In them the Christians found a place of retreat during the Persecutions; there they kept the Reliques of the Martyrs; there they met and Celebrated the holy Offices; nay,

and there ſome of them conſtantly reſided, as is written of many of the Popes. The Book called *Roma Subterranea*, is a deſcription of theſe ancient Cæmiteries: They remained the greateſt part of them, for a long time unknown; the entrance into them having been ſtopped up; and 'twas but about the end of the laſt Century that they were diſcovered. Theſe Cæmiteries are ſometimes called the Councils of the Martyrs; their Bodies being there Aſſembled together; or *Arenarea* from the Sandy Soil where they were generally placed. In *Africa* they were alſo called *Areæ*.

Baron. ad Martyr. iii. *Jan.* xxiii. *Jun. &* iii. *Sep.*

Arena. Sand.

They had of old a Religious ambition of being buried near to the Bodies of the Martyrs; and this is that which at laſt brought ſo many Graves and Tombs into the Churches: For it was of a long time obſerved not to bury the Dead but without the Walls of Cities. The Veneration they had for Reliques, and their diſtinct Belief of the Reſurrection, wore out that Averſion among the Chriſtians which the ancients, even the *Iſraelites* themſelves had for dead Bodies and Graves.

Thomaſs. Diſc. p. i. *liv.* i. *c.* lv. *n.* ii. *&c. Conſt. Apoſt.* vi. *c. ult.*

XXV. Their Biſhops, Prieſts, & Clerks.

TO finiſh the Character of theſe firſt Times, I muſt neceſſarily add a Word or two concerning the Paſtors and Miniſters of the Church. *Origen* making the Compariſon

pariſon before mentioned of the profane *Eccleſias* with the Chriſtian Churches, openly Avers it as a thing undeniable, That thoſe who preſide over the Chriſtian Churches, had in reality that Eminency of worth and Vertue above others, which the Magiſtrates of Cities had only in Name and ſhew; and this he ſpeaks in his Book againſt *Celſus*, where he had ridiculouſly expoſed himſelf to the Heathens had not the thing been manifeſtly So. 'Tis indeed plain Matter of Fact: The one and thirty Popes who filled up the three firſt Ages, were all but two of them Martyrs; and during the ſix Ages following to the ninth Century, there are not above three or four of them whom the Church hath not acknowledged for Saints. Moſt of the Biſhops mentioned in Hiſtory for the three firſt Ages, ſtand upon Record for ſingular Examples of Vertue and Piety; ſo that the Emperor *Alexander Severus* propoſes the Chriſtians Method of chuſing their Clergy as an Example of the Care which ought to be taken of enquiring into the Manners and Qualifications of all Perſons to be admitted into publick Employments. They choſe therefore to put into the ſacred Functions thoſe Chriſtians whoſe Sanctity was more Eminently remarkable, and whoſe Vertue was the moſt approved: This honour

Contr. Celſ. iii. *p.* 130.

Lamprid in Alex.

Tertul. Ap. c xxxix. *v. Orig. Contr. Celſ. lib.* 8. *in fi. Cypr. Ep.* 33, 34, 35.

was ordinarily the recompence of such Confessors whose Faith had been sufficiently proved by Torments; such were *Aurelius* and *Celerinus*, whom St. *Cyprian* made *Readers*; the last of whom, had his Body deeply marked with many Scarrs, for the Testimony of his Constancy; besides that, his Grandmother and his two Unckles were glorious Martyrs. Such was *Numidicus* the Priest, who exhorted and perswaded many others to suffer Martyrdom, and his own Wife among the rest, was himself led with them to the place of Execution, and there left for Dead.

Cypr. Ep. xxxiii.

The Bishop often chose his Clerks at the instance of the People, at least not without their Knowledge, and always with the advice of his Clergy. But whether the Persons themselves to be Ordained were desirous of it or not; that they little regarded. They did not only not wait till they should offer themselves to Ordination; but many times, partly by force, partly by Artifice, constrained them to take holy Orders upon them, even against their own Will; so that some Persons so ordained, could never prevail with themselves to exercise their Functions.

Cypr. ep. 68.

The Bishop was chosen in the presence of the People by the Bishops of the Province, Assembled together in the vacant Church, at least to the number of two or

Con. Ap. viii. *c.* 4, *&c.*

three

three of them; for it was not eaſy in thoſe times to hold great Synods, unleſs in the Intervals of the Perſecution; and therefore ſometimes the Sees of the ancient Churches have continued vacant a long time together. *Greg. Tur. x. hiſt. c. 31.*

The Ordinations were always preceeded by a Faſt, and accompanied with Prayers: Theſe Prayers were generally continued from the Saturday-Eve to the Sunday following; all that Night they paſſed in Watching and Praying, and the next Day came on the Ordination; the principal Ceremony whereof hath always been the Impoſition of Hands. The Ordination was followed by the Sacrifice. *Act. xiii. 2, 3. v. Bar. an. xliv. n. 74.*

The Biſhop ordained no more Prieſts, Deacons, or other Clerks, then juſt ſo many as were neceſſary for the Service of his Church; that is to ſay, for all his Dioceſs. This number was not great, ſince in the time of the Pope St. *Cornelius*, *Anno Chriſti* 250, the Church of *Rome* had but forty ſix Prieſts, and but one hundred fity four Clergy of all ſorts; though the People belonging to it were vaſtly numerous. The Biſhops were much more numerous in Proportion; every City that had any conſiderable number of Chriſtians in it, had alſo its Biſhop. Hence it is, that in the Lives of the firſt Popes, we find more Biſhops or- *Euſeb. vi. Hiſt. c. 43.* *Lib. Pontifical.*

dained by them than Prieſts: They ordained Prieſts only for their own Dioceſs, but made Biſhops for the greateſt part of *Italy*. The Clergy depended entirely upon the Biſhop, living under his direction in the nature of Diſciples; and 'twas his buſineſs to inſtruct and Diſcipline them; to advance them from one Degree to another, and allot to every one their different Functions, according to the different Talents he found in them. The young Martyrs that ſuffered with St. *Babylas*, St. *Blæſus*, and with ſome other Saints, were manifeſtly ſome of thoſe which were breeding up for holy Orders. The Clergy ordained by one Biſhop, could not without his permiſſion quit him to go ſerve under another; and one Biſhops ſo receiving another Biſhops Clergy, would have been condemned as a kind of Theft.

Martyr. xxiv. *Jan.* iii. *Feb.* xxx. *Apr. de S. Laurent.* xi. *Mai. de S. Valente.*

Can. Apoſt. xiv.

Yet this Authority of the Biſhops over their Clergy was no Arbritrary and Deſpotick Power, but a Government mixed with Love. The Eccleſiaſticks ſhared ſome part of the Authority with the Biſhop, ſince he did nothing of Importance without their Advice: The Prieſts eſpecially were conſulted with, who made as it were the Churche's Senate. The Prieſts were ſo Venerable and the Biſhops ſo Humble, that to common appearance there

1 *Pet.* v. 3.

there was but little difference between them. Nay the Clergy had some kind of Authority over the Bishop himself, being the continual Inspectors both of his Life and Doctrine. They attended on him in all his Publick Functions as Officers do on the Magistrate, or rather as Disciples on their Master. For the Clerks were to the Bishops as the Apostles to Jesus Christ, his constant Attendants. If therefore any Bishop should have presumed either to Teach or Practise any thing contrary to Apostolical Tradition; the more elderly of the Priests and Deacons would presently have Remonstrated against it. They would first in a Friendly manner have Advertised him of his Error; if that took no effect, they would have made their complaints against him to the other Bishops, or at last have accused him before a Council. *Const. Apos.* ii. c 28.

The greatest part of the Clergy led the *Ascetique* Life, feeding onely on Pulse or dry Dyets; Fasting often, and practising other such like Austerities as far as the great Labours of their Callings would admit of. Above all Continence was in a more especial manner required of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Not but that Marryed Persons were often advanced to these Orders; For how could they have found amongst the *Jews* and Heathens

thens that were Dayly Converted to Christianity any considerable number of Persons that had preserved an absolute Continence to their advanced Years. It was much to find those that had confined themselves only to one Wife, in that liberty which the *Jews* and other Eastern People took, of having many Wives at once, and the custom of Divorce Universally admitted, which put them often upon changing their Wives. But when a Marryed Person was made a Bishop, he began from that time forward to look upon his Wife only as his Sister: And to the same Rule hath the Latin Church all ways kept her Priests and Deacons. Yet they were still obliged to provide for their Wives, and not to cast them off as Strangers. And the Women out of Regard to the Dignity of their Husbands, were somtimes called by the Name of *Priestesses*. In *Greece* and the *East*, this strict Rule of Continence came in Course of time to be less and less regarded. But in no place whatsoever did the Catholick Church ever allow a Priest to Marry after his Ordination: If he did, he was for his Incontinence Degraded of his Order, and reduced to the State of a simple Laick. As for the Inferior Clerks, as Readers and Doorkeepers, they were commonly Marryed Per-

1 *Tim.* iii. 2.

Ep. Decret. Siricij ad Himer. c. vii.

Can. Apos. vi.

Presbyteræ.

Episcopæ.

Can. Neocæs. i.

Perſons, and Cohabited with their Wives. So that a great part of them paſſed their whole Lives in theſe lower Orders, at leaſt they continued in them for many Years, till they either loſt their Wives, or elſe by mutual Conſent, they agreed to Separate from each other, in order to the leading a more perfect Life: Yet was Marriage always ſpoken of by Chriſtians as an Honourable State: And that the rather, becauſe there were ſome Hereticks who profeſſed an Abhorrence of it, and others who Abſolutely condemned all ſecond Marriages as Unlawful.

All the Clergy even to the Biſhops themſelves, Lived after a Poor, at leaſt a Plain and Ordinary manner; having no thing as to outward appearance to Diſtinguiſh them from the common People. In the Perſecutions, as they were the Perſons, the moſt ſought after, they had no mind to make themſelves known by their Habit or any other marke of their Profeſſion. If in any thing they Differed from the common People, twas in appearing more like the Philoſophers. Many of them had parted with all their Temporal Poſſeſſions to the Poor, before their being advanced to Holy Orders; and many of them again after their Ordination ſtill continued, like St. *Paul*, to Live by the Labour of their Hands.

Not

Not that they were obliged ſo to do. The Church always took care of her Clergy, ſupplying them with all Neceſſaries out of her common Treaſure. And accordingly, every Clerk received either Weekly or Monthly, a certain Diſtribution, either in Money or of Proviſions in *Specie*, anſwerable to the Exigencies of their Condition, or the Quality of their Office. For the Clerks of an higher Station, and conſequently charged with greater Labours, received (according to the precept of St. *Paul*) more liberal Allowances. Some there were alſo that kept their own temporal Eſtate, together with their Spiritual Dignity. St. *Cyprian* at the time of his Martyrdom, had ſtill left him a little Country-Farm, the only Reſerve he made to himſelf out of the vaſt Poſſeſſions he had quitted.

S. Cypr. Ep. xxxiv.

1 *Tim.* v. 17.

Pont. Diac. Hortos.

The Paſtors and Clerks rendred themſelves no leſs amiable by their Charity and their Application to the Services of Religion, than they were Venerable for other Excellencies. The Biſhop diſpenced not with himſelf from performing the Dutyes of his Place in Perſon; preſiding always at the publick Prayers; Expounding the Holy Scriptures, and Offering the Sacrifice on all Sundays and Stationary Days. He and his Prieſts found themſelves always fully Employed, and never

never wanted Work; to Inſtruct the *Catechumens*, Comfort the Sick, Exhort the Penitents, and Reconcile ſuch as were at Variance: For to them it belonged to make up all Differences. They would by no means allow what St. *Paul* had expreſly Forbidden, that Chriſtians ſhould bring their Cauſes before the Heathen Courts; and they that would not Submit to the Arbitration of the Biſhops were Excommunicated for Impenitent and Incorrigible. But ſuch Diſputes could not often happen among Chriſtians ſo Diſintereſſed, ſo Humble, and Patient as they were. *Munday* was ordinarily the Day which the Biſhop took to determine Differences; ſo that if the Parties ſhould not readily Acquieſſe in the Sentence, they might yet have time before them to Moderate matters and bring them to a Right underſtanding before the Sunday following; when they were all to meet again in the Church, and Pray and Communicate together. On the Day of Hearing, the Biſhop ſeated in his Chair, the Prieſts ſitting down by him, and the Deacons attending; the Parties Preſented themſelves before him, reſpectfully ſtanding on their Legs, in the midſt of the place of Audience. After having heard the Cauſe, he firſt did all that was poſſible to Reconcile them

Conſt. Apoſt. ii. *c.* xlv. 46, &c. 1 *Cor.* vi.

V. Patres apud Baron an. lvii. *n.* 37. 38, &c. *Tertul. Apol. c.* xxxix.

them each other, and to perſwade them to make up the Difference in a Friendly manner between themſelves before he pronounced Sentence. At the ſame time alſo they heard Complaints and received Informations againſt Perſons accuſed of not leading their Lives like Chriſtians.

Conſt. Apoſt. ii. c. xxiv. 25. The Biſhop was fully entruſted with the Churches Treaſure, all which lay abſolutely at his Diſpoſal. Nor were they under the leaſt Apprehenſion of its being Miſapplyed. Had they had the leaſt ſuſpicion of his Integrity and Uprightneſs, they would never have committed to his Care the Government of Souls, a concern of Infinitely greater Moment than all Earthly Treaſure. Twas to him therefore that all who ſtood in need of Relief, were to apply themſelves. He was the Father of the Poor and the Refuge for all in Miſery and Diſtreſs.

Conſt. Apoſt. xli.

After all this what Wonder is it that their Prelates ſhould be ſo beloved and Reſpected by the Faithful as they were? 'Tis obſerved of St. *Polycarp* that he had not for many Years together pulled off his own Shoes; the Faithful that were near him always offering themſelves and Ambitiouſly Courting the Honour of that humble Office. So that he had not of a long time before done it with his own Hands, till at his Martyrdom, as he undreſt

Epiſt. Eccles. Smyrn.

dreſt himſelf and prepared for the Stake. Their uſual way of Approaching their Prieſt was to Proſtrate themſelves before them; Kiſs their Feet, and in that Supplicating Poſture crave their Bleſſing: And the firſt Words the Prieſt gave them were ſome ſhort Prayers like the Collects of the Maſs or Office. Happy was the Man that could have but ſomuch as a Deacon lodging in his Houſe, or eating at his Table. They never entred upon any Important Affair, with out taking the advice of the Paſtor, who was the ſole Director of his whole Flock. They loked upon him as a Man of God, and as the Vicegerent of Jeſus Chriſt. So that they were not without ſome fears, upon the account of their Prieſts and Biſhops, leaſt they ſhould not be Able to withſtand the great Temptation they lay under, of the Pride and contempt of others. They were apprehenſive of the ſame Miſcarriage in thoſe that had the gift of Prophecy, or working Miracles; for theſe gifts were as yet common in the Church. 'Twas the filial Love and Reſpect, which their Flock bare to them that made their Paſtors ſo well obeyed. For they had no other way of Commanding their Obedience but the methods of Perſwaſion, or Spiritual Penalties. They could uſe no other Conſtraint upon them then

Acta. S. S. Hippolyti, &c. Apud. Baron. an. 259. n. viii. Acta. S. Sus. an. 294. n. viii. 10. 12.

Ignat. paſſim in Epiſt.

Conſt. Apoſt. viii. c. i.

Chryſoſt. Sacerd. lib. ii.

then to over awe their Conſciences; and they who were Impious enough to deſpiſe their Cenſures, were in no danger of any Temporal Corrections.

XXVI. The Diſcretion, & Patience of the Chriſtians.

THUS upon the matter the Chriſtians Lived during the times of Paganiſm and Perſecution. This condition obliged them for the moſt part to great Circumſpection; to be always waiting upon God, and watching over themſelves. For when once the Perſecution began, a Man had nothing elſe to expect but to be the next hour Impeached, even by his own Wife, or by his neareſt Relation; who either out of Covetouſneſs to get his Eſtate, or out of a bigotted Zeal for their Idolatries, might be prompted to Betray them. This was a ready way for Debtors to get rid of their Creditors; or Slaves, of their Maſters. If a Pagan fell in Love with the Daughter of a Chriſtian, he either put her upon the ſad neceſſity of compliance or of expoſing her ſelf to Torment. St. *Juſtin* gives us an Inſtance of a Wife that was informed a gainſt, by her own Husband, only becauſe ſhe would no longer be a party to his Wickedneſs; and of another who was put to Death Himſelf for daring to ask the Judge why he Sentenced another Man. (who was the Perſon had Con-

Martyr. xxx. Jul de S. Julitea.

Juſt. i. Apol. init.

vert-

verted that Woman) Barely upon the name of a Chriſtian, without any other Accuſation, ſomuch as pretended againſt him. Though the Church had its ſhort Intervals of Peace, yet they were always in expectation of the War breaking out again. Nor was the Peace ever ſo entire; but that in the moſt Quiet times, many Chriſtians ſuffered either by Popular Commotions or other means. For we find a great number of Martyrs even under the Emperors who would not be ingaged in Perſecuting the Church. St. *Melito* complains to the Emperor *Antonine*, that the Chriſtians were without controul; Robb'd and Plunder'd at Noonday, under pretence of an Order from the Emperor when he knew nothing of the matter. Or if they did enjoy ſome little Reſpite from Perſecution, and open Violence, yet they ſtill were expoſed to the utmoſt contempt and Hatred. Every one had the liberty of Speaking againſt the Chriſtians, whatever he pleaſed, True or Falſe; of Diſcourſing and Writing againſt them, of Ridiculing and expoſing them and their Religion, upon the open Theatre. All this was not only Connived at, but Authoriſed and Encouraged. And the paſſages of *Celſus* quoted by *Origen*, are ſufficient proofs, with what Scorn they were Treated. They could

Ap. Euſeb. 4. Hiſt. xxvi.

could not avoid seeing the profane Ceremonies of the *Pagans* every Day, meeting where ever they went, with their Infamous Statues and publick Places of Debauchery; having their Ears filled with their Lewd and Impious Discourses. The Christians of these times must of necessity have had a more then ordinary Strength, and firmness of Mind, in the Midst of so many Difficulties and Temptations to keep up their Faith and Practice so lively and Unexceptionable.

It required also a great Discretion to Moderate themselves, and to keep within due Bounds, that liberty of the Children of God, and that Boldness of Spirit which arises from the Testimony of a good Conscience. They knew how to Contemn, Contempt unjustly cast upon them, to bear the most Injurious Calumnies without quarreling; those that aspersed them without either hatred or Complaint. They were very cautious of doing any thing that might draw Persecution upon them. They Studyed as far as was possible, and as much as in them lay, to Live Peaceably with all Men, and by well doing to put to Silence the Ignorance of Foolish Men. To this End they found it necessary to refrain from all things, (the Indispensable Duties of their Religion Excepted) which might give occasion of

1 *Pet.* ii. 16.

Rom. xii. 18.

1 *Pet.* ii. 15.

Of-

Offence to the Heathens, or Provoke their Displeasure; and on the contrary, to study all Honest means of obliging them. The Necessary Practices of a Christian Life, did sufficiently Distinguish them from the rest of the World, without their Affecting any Superfluous Singularities. So that as to their outward Form of Living, in all things not contrary to Piety and good manners, they conformed themselves to the Customs and Manners of the *Romans* or *Greeks*, or the People of the other Countrys, where they Lived. They never forced themselves upon Disputing or Preaching to those whom they found not Disposed to Regard them. They contented themselves with Praying for them, and strove to Edifye them by the Example of their Patience and good Works; never ceasing to return Good for Evil. St. *Ignatius* Speaking of the Soldiers who were his Keepers, *I am*, saith he, *Tied to ten Leopards, who are the Worse for being obliged.* But their Malice is my Instruction. St. *Polycarp* gave a friendly Welcome to those who came to Apprehend him; made them Sup and Lodge with him, and entertained them with all manner of Civility and Respect. St. *Cyprian* ordered twenty pieces of Gold to be given to the Executioner, that was to Strike off his Head. Another

Epist. ad Rom.

Epist. Eccles. Smyrn.

Martyr. vii. Sept. de. S. Eupsychio.

Ancient Martyr, having been accuſed of being a Chriſtian, and thereupon caſt into Priſon, upon his Diſcharge, Sold all that he had, and gave it part to the Poor, and part to his Enemies, as if they had been his Benefactors. Another being Condemned to loſe his Head, deſired ſome little time to Pray; which was granted, and he Pray'd to God for his Friends and Neighbours; for the *Jews*, for the *Gentiles*, for all the Spectators; and in the laſt place, for the Judge who had Condemned him, and the Executioner who was to give the Stroak.

xxv. *Tul. de S. Paulo.*

But more remarkable was their Patience towards their Princes, Magiſtrates, and the ſecular Authority: They were never heard complaning againſt the Government, nor ever ſpake contemptuouſly of the Civil Power. They gave them all the honour and obedience they could on this ſide Idolatry; they paid their Tributes not only without reſiſting, but without repining; and rather then defraud them of their Rights, if they had not otherwiſe to anſwer; they made it up out of the labour of their Hands.

Tertul. Apol. c. xxxv, xxxvi xxxvii.

So far were they from raiſing Sedition or Rebellions, that in all the many Conſpiracies which were formed againſt the Emperors, one after another, for the ſpace of three hundred years, no Chriſtian was ever

ever found to have had an Hand in any of them; tho' the Emperors were never so bad, and the Persecutors never so cruel. The Christians were the only Persons who did not make it their business to get rid of *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Commodus*, *Caracalla* and so many other Tyrants; Oppress. and Harrassed as they were with all sorts of injuries, and groaning under the most unheard of Cruelties; Yet it never entered into their Thoughts to resist the Powers, or to take up Arms in their own Defence, though they were numerous enough to have made up a greater Body of Men, than any of the Nations could, that made War against the *Romans*: Nay, more than that of so many Christian Soldiers, with which the *Roman* Armies were filled, none ever made use of the Sword they had in their Hands, but to Execute the Orders of their Prince or their Commanders; and we read of entire Legions, (as that of St. *Maurities*) that without the least resistance suffered themselves to be cut to pieces, rather than to fail of doing their Duty either to God or *Cæsar*.

Scarce could they perswade themselves so much as to open their Mouths in their own Defence, and Publish some answers to those horrid Calumnies most wrongfully laid to their Charge. For near the space of an Age, they were content to *Orig. Cont. Cels. init.*

suffer with silence, after the Example of their Master, who answered nothing to his Accusers, but without resistance submitted himself to the unrighteous Judge. They were content to be justifyed by their works, and let their Actions plead their Cause. 'Twas not till the Emperor *Adrian*, that they began to Write some Apologies; but those in so respectful a manner, so Solid and so Grave, as made it plainly appear, that it was only Zeal for the Truth made them take Pen in Hand.

v. 1 Pet. ii. 21.

v. *Euseb.* iv. *Hist.* iii. & xxv.

This invincible Patience at last surmounted all opposition, and forced the Powers of this World to submit to the Power of the Gospel. Even under the Persecutions, the number of Christians was grown Prodigiously great. *We are* (saith Tertullian,) *but of Yesterday, and yet the World is filled with us; your Cities, your Houses, your Garrisons, your Villages, your Colonies, your very Camps, your Tribes, your Pallaces, your Senate, your Courts of Justice.* And indeed there were Christians of all Degrees, and some of the first Quality. We see in the Martyrology, Senators, Prefects, Proconsuls, Tribunes, Quaestors and even Consuls themselves; we find Christians in the Court, and among the Domesticks, and principal Officers of the Emperors, as under *Nero*, *Trajan*, *Alexander*, *Decius*, *Valerian*, *Diocletian*,

Apol. c. xxxvii.

Martyrol. 18. *Apr.* x. *&c.* 19 *Ma.* xix. *Aug.* xiii. *Sept.* viii. *Oct. Martyrol. Martii*, xii xxvi. *Mai.* xvii. xix. *Jun.* xx *Jul.*

tian. The Court of *Diocletian* served also sometimes for a safe retreat to the most Zealous Confessors of *Rome*. The Pope St. *Gaius*, and St. *Gabinius*, the Father of St. *Susanna*, were his own Nephews; and St. *Serena* his Empress was a Martyr.

iii. *Sept.* v. *Oct.* xviii. *Euseb.* vi. *Hist.* xxviii. *Act. S. Sebast. & S. Susan.*

The People affected with these vertues of the Christians, and with the many Miracles wrought among them, began at length to do them Justice, loudly declaring that great was the God of the Christians, and that the Christians were Innocent Persons. It sometimes happened that as they were Tormenting the Martyrs, the common People themselves whom this sight had drawn together, took part with the Christians on their own accord, and Pelted the Magistrate with Stones off this Tribunal, and made him fly the Court. The Clerks of the Court, the Goalers, the Soldiers, the Executioners, were many times all on a suddain Converted; openly calling out that they were Christians too, and offering themselves to the same Punishments. Even *Comædians* themselves, as they were in Derision acting upon the Stage the sacred Mysteries, have been Converted on the spot, and made Illustrious Martyrs: Hence proceeded the extream violence of the last Persecution. They saw the whole

Acta S. Ben. an. 305 *Martyrol. Ja.* iii. *Feb.* xvi. xvii. xxvii. *Mar.* ix. xxvii. 30. *Mai.* 31. *Jun.* 30 *Jul.* 7. *Aug.* 21. *Sept.* 20 25. *Oct.* 10. 19. *Nov.* 26. *Dec.* 3.

Martyrol. 25. *Aug.* 15 *Sept.* *Baron. an.* 303. *n.* 118

World turning Christian: And this last Persecution also, as all the former had done, served only to spread it farther and give it the deeper Rooting: So that all the World bare a favourable Aspect toward Religion, when *Constantine* declared himself the Protector of it.

Part III.

XXVII. The Church out of Persecution.

I AM now come to the third part of my Work, where I am to represent the Behaviour of the Christians, when the Church came to be in a state of Peace and Liberty. For three hundred years they had been longing and sighing after these happy Days of serving God without any lett or hindrance: But experience as sad as it was, taught them that Persecution was more for the advantage of Religion than Liberty: Not but that the same Manners before described, continued yet a long time after. So that I have nothing to do here but to observe those differences which the free exercise of Religion forthwith produced.

The Examination and Preparation for Baptism.

Though they had always used great care in Examining such as demanded Baptism; yet there was now required a far greater Circumspection, when there was no longer any danger to become a Christian: For Worldly Interest and diverse other bad Motives might make Men desirous of taking upon them that Name.

There-

Therefore every one that presented himself to Baptism, was in the first place taken into strict Examination, and obliged to give an account of the causes of his Conversion, of his Condition in the World; whether he was a Slave or a Freeman; of his Behaviour, and of his past Life. They who lived in any unlawful Calling, or in a customary way of Sinning, were not admitted till they had actually renounced that course of Life. Thus they rejected all common Women, and those that made a Trade of Prostituting their Bodies; Actors upon the Stage, Gladiators, Racers in the Circus, those whose Employment it was to Dance or Sing in Publick; in a Word, all retainers to the Theatre; all who had any part in, or were much addicted to the publick Shews; all Jugglers, Enchanters and Diviners of what sort soever; all dealers in Charms or Spells, used either by way of Cure or Preservative; all that exercised any sort of Heathenish Superstitions; none of these sort of People were received into the Church till they had first quitted their evil Practices; nor were their bare words taken for it, till they had given substantial Proofs of the sincerity of their Conversion, and that for some considerable time.

v. Methodes Pere. c. iii. ix.

Const. Ap. viii. c. 32. S. Aug. xi. de ferm. dom. in mont.

The Catechumens. When a Person was judged duly qualified to become a *Christian*, he was made a *Catechumen*; which was done by the Imposition of Hands, either of the Bishop himself, or of some other Priest by him appointed to that Office, who at the same time, signed him with the sign of the Cross, and Prayed over him, That God would grant him the Grace to benefit by the Instructions should be given him, and to behave himself so as to be become fit to receive Holy Baptism. He continued two or three years in this State of a *Catechumen*, which is a kind of Probationership: He was present at the Publick Sermons of the Church; to which even the Infidels were admitted. But besides the publick Preaching, there was an Order of *Catechists*, whose proper business it was to inspect the *Catechumens*, and instruct them in the first Rudiments of Faith, without entering into deeper Mysteries, which these Novices were not yet judged able to bear. The time allowed for this institution of them, was longer or shorter, according to the Proficiency of the *Catechumen*; Nor did they regard only his understanding in the Doctrinals of Religion, but marked whether he mended his Manners; and they let him continue in this State, till they saw he was perfectly become a new Man. Hence it came

to

to pass that many deferred their Baptism till they were at the point of Death: For they never gave it but upon Desire, tho' they often exhorted People to ask it. They who desired Baptism, and were thought qualified at the beginning of *Lent*, gave in their Names to be entred in the Roll of *Competents* or Illuminated; for these *Competents* were distinguished from the other *Catechumens*: They fasted the forty Days as the rest of the Faithful; and then they were more fully instructed, and the Creed was explained to them, and particularly the Mysteries of the *Trinity* and the Incarnation. They were from time to time brought to the Church, to be there publickly examined in the presence of the Faithful, to have the Exorcisms made over them, and the Prayers of the Church on their behalf: This is it they call the Scrutiny, which continued to be observ'd for many Ages; even toward little Children; and some traces of it appear still in the Offices of the Church. At the end of *Lent*, they were taught the Lord's Prayer and well informed of the Nature of the Sacraments they were then about to receive; which were afterward to be explicated to them more at large. This order of Instruction plainly appears in the Catechisms of St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, and in one of *Fulgentius*'s Sermons.

Tertul. de pœnit. init. Hier. advers. Jo. Hier. Photizomeni.

v. Cod Sacram. edit: Rom. 1680. ord. Rom. Missa. Fer. iv. post. Domin. iv. Quadrag & ibi. durand

Fulg. Serm

After 78.

After all these Preparations, they were at last solemnly Baptized; either on *Easter-Eve*, to put them in mind of rising up with Christ to newness of Life: or on the Eve of *Pentecost*, that they might then with the Apostles receive the Gift of the Holy-Ghost: For at the same time that they received Baptism, they had Confirmation also. Baptism was regularly Administred only upon those two Feasts; but in case of danger, they Baptized at any time. The new Baptized, of what Age soever they were, were called by the name of Children. They wore during the whole first Week the white Robe they had received at their Baptism, in token of the Innocence wherein they were to walk all the Days of their Life: Nor might they during that time, wash themselves in any of the ordinary Baths. From that time forward they were freely admitted to all the parts of the Church service.

Tertul. de cor. c. iii.

Constantine having put an end to the Persecution, one might have seen (as *Eusebius* relates it) in all Parts of the World Dedications of Churches, and Assemblies of Bishops. The dispersed Christians now meet together again. The Churches were now in all places frequented more than ever: The *Psalmody*, the Celebration of the Mysteries, and all the Ceremonies of Religion were performed with greater

Euseb. Hist. c. iii.

Solem-

Solemnity then ever: So that this is the proper place to speak of their outward form of Worship. Let us begin with the Description of the ancient Churches; according to the best Account we can gather both out of the oldest Writings, and the oldest Buildings that are left us.

XXVIII. The form of the Churches & their ornaments.

THE Church was separated as much as possibly they could, from all profane Buildings, and placed at a distance from noise; surrouuded on every side with Courts, Gardens, or Buildings belonging to the Church. At the first enterance, you saw the Porch or outer *Vestibulum*, which led you into the *Peristilium* or square Court, surrounded with covered Galleries standing upon Pillars; such as the Cloysters of our Monasteries are at this Day: Under these Galleries stood the Poor, that were permitted to Beg at the Door of the Church; and in the middle of the Court were several Fountains for them to wash their Hands and Faces at, before Prayers; in the room of these Fountains, succeeded afterward the Holy-Water Pots. At the farther end of this Court, was a double Porch; and through it there was a passage by three Doors into the Hall or *Basilicæ*, which was the Body of the Church. I call it Double, because there was one without, and another

v. Euseb. Hist. Eccle. x. c. iv. de vita Const. lib. iii. cap. 34, 35, &c. & lib. iv. c. 58. Propylæum Paulin. ep. xii & Natal. x. S. Greg. iv. Dialog. c. xiv.

ther within, which the *Greeks* called the *Narthex*. Near the Basilique on the inside, were generally two Buildings; the Baptistery at the Entry; and at the other end the *Sacristy* or Treasury, called also the *Secretarium* or *Diaconium*. Along the sides of the Church, were often placed little Chambers or Cells, for the convenience of them that had a mind to retire, and meditate or Pray by themselves: So that they were in effect, so many little Chappels.

Cellæ.

Exhedræ.

The Basilique or Church was Parted into three Divisions, proportionable to its Largeness, by two rows of Pillars supporting the Galleries on each side, and the Middle between these Galleries was the *Nave*, as we see it in all Old Churches. Toward the East end was the *Altar*; and behind that, the Presbytery or Sanctuary, where the Priests sat in time of Divine Service, with their Bishop in the Middle of them, whose Chair was at the very end of the Basilique, and terminated the prospect of them that came in at the principal Door. There was before the Altar, a Partition enclosed within Balasters, which we may call the *Choir* or *Chancel*; and in the Middle of the Entrance into it, stood the *Pulpit* or *Ambo* for the Reading the publick lessons; which was a kind of Tribunal Seat, Erected on high

Cancelli.

a-

above the rest of the Congregation, and had a pair of By-Staires on each side. Sometimes they made two of these Pulpits, over against one another, with a little void Space between them, so as to leave the Middle open, that the Altar might not be out of Sight. On the right Hand of the Bishop and the left of the People stood the *Desk* for the Gospel; and on the other side, that for the Epistle. Behind the Pulpit, up to the Altar, was the place for the Singing Men; who were Clerks also, but Ordained only to this Office. *Defer. S. Mar. Mas.*

The Altar was a rich Table of Gold or Silver, Ornamented with precious Stones. It was at worst of Marble or Porphyry, for they thought they could never employ matter good enough for the bearing of the Holy of Holies; and the Ceremonies they used in the Consecration of Altars, sufficiently declare in what Veneration they held them. The Holy Table was always kept uncovered, but at the time of the Sacrifice. It stood upon four Feet, or little Pillars as rich in proportion as the Table its self, and it was Placed, if possible, over the Grave of some Martyr. For as they had been formerly accustomed to meet at their Tombs, so now they built their Churches there, or else Translated their Bodies to the Places where they built them: And thence it came to be a stated

ted Rule, never to Consecrate an Altar without putting Reliques under it. And these Tombs of the Saints they called *Memoriæ* or Confessions. They were layd under Ground, and there was a way down to them, opening before the Altar, which stood directly over them. There was nothing standing immediately upon the Altar it self, but it was surrounded with four Pillars at the four corners of it, Supporting a kind of Tabernacle, that covered the whole Compass of the Altar, and was called the *Cupelo* from its resembling in figure a *Cup reversed*.

Baron. in Martyr. 6. Fol.

Behind the Altar (as I said before) was the place for the Priests. And here the roof was built lower than the rest of the Church, and was called the *Concha*, as being in the form of a *Scallop-shell*, or the *Absis* from the Arch, with which the Front of it was Terminated. This end of the Church was also called the Tribunal, because in the Heathen Palaces it was the place where the Magistrate, with his Officers about him sat in Judicature. This part of the Church was raised somewhat higher than the rest, so that the Bishop came down some steps from thence to the Altar.

Ordo Rom.

All this was set off with Magnificent Ornaments. The Cupelo, and the Pillars that sustained it, were often all of Silver;

Silver; some of them weighed three thousand Marks. Between these Pillars hung Curtains of the Richest Stuffe, drawn on all sides to keep the Altar from being seen. The Cupelo was adorned with several Images and other pieces of Art wrought in Gold or Silver, and the top of it was made in Resemblance of the Cross. There were hanging also over the Altar, Gold or Silver Doves, to Represent the Holy Ghost: Here sometimes they laid up the Eucharist for the Sick, and sometimes kept it in plain Boxes like our *Pixes*. Sometimes the whole *Absis* was all overlaid with Silver, or at least faced with Marble, as was also the Concha. The Pillars that Supported the Church were of Marble, with Capitals of Brass guilt with Gold. It was Paved with Marble, and many times the inside of the Walls was Rough cast with polished Stones.

Anast. in Silvest. & in Leone iii. &c. *Id. in Steph. iv.* *Conc. Constantin. an. 536. Act. v.*

They most affected in their Churches (especially in the following Ages) the *Mosaick-work*, which is a kind of inlaying with little peices of Glass, painted with divers Colours; and thus they could make all sorts of Figures, that would never fade or decay. Not but that their Churches had other sorts of Paintings besides this. Their Walls were all covered with them: There were to be seen on them divers Hist-

Opus Musivum. *v. Roma Subterr. lib. iv cap. 6. 7. &c.*

Hiſtories of the old Teſtament, and more eſpecially ſuch as were Types of the Myſteries of the New; As *Noah's Ark, Abraham's Sacrifice, the paſſage thorough the red Sea, Jonas caſt into the Sea, Daniel among the Lions.* Our Saviours Picture was in ſeveral places of the Church, and the repreſentation of ſome of his Miracles, as the *Multiplication of the Loaves*, the *Reſurrection of Lazarus.* *Euſebius* aſſures us, That from the very firſt times there were ſome who had the Pictures of St. *Peter*, St. *Paul*, and our Saviour himſelf drawn in Colours. The way of Honouring Benefactors by preſerving their Pictures, having been (as he obſerves) a cuſtome of a long ſtanding in the World; beſides this, every Church had in particular, painted upon its Walls the Hiſtory of the Martyr, whoſe Reliques were thereunder depoſited; of which *Prudentius* gives us two lively Repreſentations in the Examples of St. *Caſſian* and St. *Hyppolytus.* Theſe Paintings were deſigned chiefly for the uſe of the more Ignorant; to whom they ſerved inſtead of Books, as Pope *Gregory* the ſecond Argues on their behalf, in his Epiſtle to the Emperor *Leo.* The Author of the opinion of the Iconoclaſts, *Men and Women* (ſaith he) *holding in their Arms their New Baptized Children, point out to them thoſe Painted Hiſtories,*

Euſeb. vii. *Hiſt.* c. 18.

Prud. Periſteph. ix. *de S. Caſſ. ibid* xi. *de S. Hippol.*

Greg. ii. *ep.* i. *in Conc. Nic.* ii.

ſhew-

shew them to other young People, or to the Gentile Strangers; and thus they Instruct and edify them, and raise up their Thoughts and Hearts to God. The Doors of the Church were adorned with Ivory, Silver or Gold, and were always furnished with Curtains. At the Principal Gates were placed some Reliques: And that's the Reason why the faithful always expressed some particular marks of respect upon their entering in at the Doors of the Church.

Hieron. ad Demetr. Paul. Natal. iii. *and* vi. *Anast. in Leon.* iii. *Baron. ad marty.* xviii *Nov.*

The *Diaconicum*, or *Sacristy* was a considerable building adjoining to the Church. It was the Repository for the Consecrated Vessels; the Books, the Habits of the Priests, and the other choicest Furniture of the Church. The Oblations of the faithful were also kept there, and sometime the Eucharist. There it was that the Bishop and his Clergy usually met to consult together about the affairs of the Church, or to prepare themselves for the Sacrifice. As it was St. *Martin*'s Custom to pass three Hours in praying by himself in the Sacristy before Mass. And from this use of it, we find it took the name of *Secretarium*: Some of them were so spacious that Councils have been held in them. None but Persons in holy Orders might go into them, or touch the Consecrated Vessels. In some Churches there

Sever. de vita S. Mart.

Conc. Carthag. Con. Agath can 66.

Paul. ep. xii. were two different Apartments for these two several uses, one to lock up the Consecrated Vessels in, and the other for the Ministers to retire into and meditate there or to meet together and Consult.

They had a great number of *Calices* and *Patins*, which in the first times were often of no better Materials than Glass; but sometimes also of Silver or Gold, even during the Persecutions. Their *Calices* were like the ordinary drinking Cups among the *Romans*, as their Patins, the Dishes in which they served up their Meats to Table. The *Calices* of the Church were generally of about the weight of three * Marks, but their *Patins* were large deep Dishes weighing some of them forty five Marks, but commonly about thirty: 'Twas in these times that they brought into the Church the use of Wax Tapers, great numbers of 'em always kept burning together, and that even at Noon-day, and at the same time also many lighted Lamps: Light and Fire were the old Symbols of Joy. They carried Fire before the *Roman* Magistrates: *Horace* to Redicule the vanity of the *Prætor* of the little Town of *Fundi*, very pleasantly describes him with his Chaffing-Dish of Coals carried before him. And the *Notitia Imperii* informs us that among the other Badges of Honour, generally be long-

Lib. Pont. in Mar. & alibi passim lib. 30 *lib.* 20.

* *A Mark weighs* 8 *Ounces.*

V. Hier. in Vigilant. c. iii.

Prunæque batillum. 1 *Sat.* v.

longing to the principal Officers of State, there was a Table had upon it a Book lying on a Cushion; sometimes covered over with a large Veil, sometimes uncovered, and two Candlesticks standing by with lighted Tapers in them; which nearly resembles our Altars. We find that there were in the Primitive times Golden Candlesticks of thirty seven Marks weight a peice, and Silver ones of forty five given to some Churches: And in the Provinces we find also mention made of perfumed Tapers, as at the Baptism of *Clovis*.

The Baptistery was generally built in a round form, having within it a place sunk into the Ground (after the manner of a Well) with some steps down to the Water: For indeed it was properly a Bath. In After-times they contented themselves with a large *Cistern* of Marble or Porphyry, as a kind of *Baignoire*, and at last they reduced it to a large *Bason* much like our present *Fonts*. The *Baptistery* was always beautified with Paintings agreeable to that Sacrament, and furnished with a great deal of Gold and Silver Plate to keep both the Consecrated Oyls in, and the Water: These were often made in the form of Lambs or Harts, to represent the Lamb of God, by whose Blood we are washed, and to signify the longings of devout Souls after God, as to use

Anastas in Sylvestr. Greg. Tur. lib. ii.

Paulin. ep. xii. *Lib. Pont. in Innoc.* i. *& at Psal.* xlii. 1.

uſe the Expreſſion of the *Pſalmiſt*, *The thirſty Hart panteth after the Water Brooks*. There was alſo to be ſeen the Image of St. *John Baptiſt*, and a Gold or Silver Dove hovering over the ſacred *Bagnio*, to repreſent to the Eye the Hiſtory of the Baptiſm of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Power of the holy Ghoſt deſcending upon the Baptiſmal Water; and in alluſion to the ſame Hiſtory, we find the *Font* called by the name of the *Jordan*.

Conc. Conſtantin. an. 535.

Much after this manner (generally Speaking) did the Ancients Contrive their Churches, and the buildings belonging to them; not to ſpeak here of the Biſhops Houſe and the Lodgings for his Clergy, whence came in after Ages the Cloiſters of the Cannons; nor to mention the Hoſpitals of divers ſorts, which were commonly ſeated near the principal Church.

In the mean time, the *Gentiles* upbraided the *Chriſtians* for having neither Temples, nor Altars, nor Images, nor Sacrifices, nor Feaſts. To which the Chriſtians made no other anſwer, but that neither Temples, nor material Altars, nor Bloody Sacrifices were worthy of the Majeſty of God: That God could have no other Image but his own Son, and reaſonable Souls, who by Imitating the Son rendred themſelves like unto the Father

Orig. in Cels. lib. viii.

ther. That they did at all times, and in all places offer up to God the Sacrifice of Praiſe, upon the Altars of their Hearts; burning with the fire of Charity. In fine that the true Chriſtians do keep every Day a Feaſt, by their diſengagement from the Affairs of this World; by the reſt of a good Conſcience, and their Rejoycings in the hope of Heaven. This was the Defence the Chriſtians made for themſelves againſt the reproaches of the Heathens. They did not pretend to ſay, we have Temples and Altars as well as you, though not of the ſame form and Figure.

To have ſaid ſo, would have given the Heathens quite different Conceptions concerning our Religion, from what it is in Reality. An Altar with them, was a Fire-hearth of Stone Erected either before ſome Idol or before ſome Temple, but always in the open Air, deſigned for the Burning of their Victims, and to pour Wine, Milk, Hony or other ſort of Libations upon it. A Temple was a round or oblong Building, where the Bigneſs, Figure and Proportion were particular according to the different Divinities to which they were Conſecrated; as one may ſee in *Vitruvius*. They were for the moſt part of ſmall Extent, made without Windows, or at leaſt admitting little Light; nor did they contain any thing *Vitruv.*

in them, but the Idols and things offered to them. The People never entered them, but remained without Surrounding the Altar.

Our Churches were more like the publick Schools, or Town-Halls designed for buſineſs, which the Ancients called *Baſilicæ*; and the Deſcription of them is alſo given us by *Vitruvius*. They ſaw in our Churches a Tribunal raiſed up on High, with a *Chair* for him that Preſided in the Aſſembly, a Desk for the Reader, Benches for the Auditors; Books, Preſſes, Lamps and Candleſticks; and amongſt other things a *Table*, the uſe of which, they that were Strangers to our Religion could not tell what to make of; only concluding in general, that it was for taking ſome kind of Repaſt upon among our ſelves. The Chriſtians did not agree in the ſame Names with the Heathens. They gave to the places of their publick Aſſembly, the Name of *Eccleſia*, *Baſilica*, *Oratorie*, *Martyriam*, *Titulus*, the Houſe of God, or the Houſe of the Lord; they rarely made uſe of the name of *Temple*, and never (within the Compas of my reading) of *Delubrum* or *Fanum*. The names of Particular Churches were often taken from their Founders, as at *Rome*, the *Titulus Paſtoris*, the *Baſilica* of *Liberius* or *Sixtus*, which is now St. *Mary* the great;

Vitruv. lib. v. c i.
Baron. ad Martyr. v. Aug.

great; or from the Ancient Name of the Houſe, as *Baſilica Laterana.* Afterwards they came alſo to make uſe of Churches built by the Heathens; when they found them fit for the uſe of Religion. So in *Rome* they Converted the *Pantheon*, the Temple of *Minerva*, of *Fortuna Virilis* with ſome others into Chriſtian Churches.

The Churches were not only large and Beautiful as to the make of them, but alſo looked after with great care, and always kept Neat and Clean. St. *Jerome* gives a ſpecial Commendation of *Nepotian* the Prieſt, for the care he took of, keeping his Church in good order: The Walls dry and free from Smut and Mould; the Pavements rubbed, the *Sacriſty* clean, the Veſſels ſhining, the Door-keeper always upon his Office. This was the buſines of the inferior Officers, under what Name ſoever they went, as *Door-keepers*, *Manſionaries*, *Camerarii*, *Sacriſtans*; and there was a great number of theſe Officers in the larger Churches. We may ſee yet in the form of Ordination what was the proper charge of the *Oſtiaries.* They were at the Regular Hours to give notice for Prayers, and conſequently it belonged to them to Ring the Bells, when once the uſe of Bells was brought into the Church, which was about the ſeventh Age. It was their buſineſs to open the

Epiſt. de fun. Nepot.

Cubicularii Æditui. Pontific. Rom. V. Baron. an. lviii. *n.* 102.

Church Doors at the uſual time, and to ſtand at them upon their Duty, to keep Infidels or Excommunicated Perſons from Entring. They kept the Keys, and took care that nothing was loſt. We find in the Dialogues of St. *Gregory* that the *Manſionaries* had the charge of the Lamps. 'Twas theſe Inferior Officers that Dres't up the Church againſt the more ſolemn Feſtivals, either with Silk Tapeſtries or other rich Hangings, or only with Boughs and Flowers. In a Word, they were to do every thing that was neceſſary to keep the Holy Place fit for making Impreſſions of Reverence and Piety upon thoſe who approached it. All theſe Functions appeared too Conſiderable to be permitted to pure Laicks. So that 'twas thought neceſſary to Eſtabliſh theſe new Orders of Minor Clerks on purpoſe to eaſe the Deacons, and to take off ſome part of their Charge.

Dial. i. *c.* v. & iii. *c.* xxiv. *Paul. Nat.* iii. & vi.

XXIX. Devotion aſſiſted by Senſe.

THOUGH t'is true, the Chriſtian Religion is altogether Inward and Spiritual; yet Chriſtians are Men as well as others, and therefore not above the power of Sence and Imagination. Nay, we may ſay that the greateſt part of Man-kind ſcarce Act or Live upon any other Principle. How few apply themſelves to Operations purely Intellectual; and they that

that do ſo, find their thoughts eaſyly Diverted from Spiritual Objects. Devotion therefore muſt be aſſiſted by the Impreſſions of Senſe. Were we Angels, we might Pray in all places alike, in the hurry of the Roads, in the Crowd of the Streets, in the Noiſe of the Guard-Chamber, in the Roaring and Riots of a Tavern; over the Stenches of a Common-Shore. Why then do we ſhun theſe places of Diſtraction; and when we would be Devout, ſeek after Silence and retiredneſs, but only as a Remedy againſt the Impotence of Senſe and Imagination? 'Tis not God that hath need of *Temples* and *Oratories*, but We. He is equally preſent in all Places, and always equally ready to hear us everywhere, but we are not always in a frame of Spirit fit to Speak to him. So that 'tis a needleſs and uſeleſs peice of Work to Conſecrate particular places to his Service, unleſs they be alſo put into a Condition proper to aſſiſt our Devotion.

Let us Suppoſe for Example, that which we ſee too often in theſe later Times, a Church ſo ill Scituated, that it Ecchoes with the Noiſes of an Adjacent Street or a Neighbouring Market; and ſo naſtily kept that one can ſcarce ſit down or kneel in it for Dirt; ſuppoſe it throng'd with ſuch a Herd of People promiſcuouſly crow-

crowded together, that, they who attend upon Prayer, are every Moment juſtled and trampled upon by others puſhing on their way through them, and continually interrupted with Children's Crying or Playing, Loud *Beggars* Bawling about their Ears: Add to this, that you have nothing before your Eyes but diſagreable Objects, the Walls covered over with a filthy Smut and Mouldineſs, the Pictures disfigur'd with Duſt and Cobwebbs, and placed in an ill Light; the ſtatues of a deformed Make, or half of them broken off, and the other Ornaments in as ill a condition. In fine, to omit nothing offenſive to ſenſe; for Incenſe an horrid fume of ſtinking Vapours; and for Muſick, a multitude of untuned Voices jumbled together in Croaking Sounds: It will be much eaſyer for a Man to Pray in an open Field, or in a lone uninhabited Houſe then in ſuch a Church as this. On the contrary, let a Man go into a Church well built, beautifully adorned, and neatly Kept; where all things are ſtill and quiet, the People well placed, and the Clergy performing the Office in a regular manner, and with a becoming Reverence and Humility; he will find himſelf inſenſibly Engaged to attend the Service he is upon with a compoſedneſs of Thought, and be able

able to Pray with the Heart at the same time he speaks with his Lips. 1 Cor. xiv. 14.

Of this the Bishops of the First Ages were very sensible. Those Holy Persons were either *Greeks* or *Romans*, many of them great Philosophers, all of them trained up in the nicest observance of all the Rules of Decency. They knew that the order, Grandeur and agreeableness of exteriour Objects, have a natural Efficacy in them of exciting in the mind Noble, pure, and well regulated Thoughts; and that the Affections follow those Thoughts: But that 'tis next to impossible to keep the Soul Intent upon that which is good, while the Body is uneasy or the Imagination disobliged: They thought Devotion a matter of that Importance that it required all the assistance which could handsomly be given it; and therefore took care to have the publick Services of the Church, especially that of the Sacrifice, Celebrated with all possible Majesty, and the People assisting at it, accommodated with all imaginable Conveniencies, that so they might be brought on to take delight in the House of Prayer and to approach it with Reverence. And they were at the same time sufficiently Cautions also to keep out of the Holy Places, all the Extravagances of a Worldly Pomp; all the appearances of a wanton Vanity, or what

whatſoever might have a tendency to Effeminate the mind or ſtrike the Senſes with dangerous Impreſſions. 'Twas not their deſign to Flatter Senſe, but to aſſiſt it. This will better appear in deſcribing the whole Form and Manner of their Outward Worſhip.

XXX. Their *Liturgy* and outward Form of Worſhip. *V.S. Epiph. hæres in fi. Bona i. Liturg. c.* xviii

THEY offered the Sacrifice every *Sunday*, on all the Feaſts of the Martyrs, on all Faſt Days, or oftner as the Cuſtom of every Church in particular required. They had alſo both upon Publick and Private occaſions, their *Votive Maſſes*; Sometimes they had many *Maſſes* on the ſame Day, as when the Office of a Saint fell upon ſome other Feſtival, or when there was a Burial. It was always either the Biſhop himſelf, or one and the ſame Prieſt that performed them all; as it is ſtill obſerved by us on Chriſtmas-Day. On Sundays and the other Feſtivals, Maſs was ſaid about nine or ten of the Clock in the Morning; on Faſt Days later, for they were not to eat on thoſe Days till after Evening Service, paſt three of the Clock in the Afternoon. The Hour being come, the People met together at the principal Church, to attend the Biſhop with all his Clergy to the place where the Station for that Day was appointed. And after this manner the Biſhop took his round

V. Cod. Sacram. edit. Rom. 1680.

V. Ord. Ro.

round, and viſited all his Churches one by one, every one in its Courſe: And that this Progreſs might be orderly made, and in a full Body, Proceſſions were Inſtituted.

As they were entring the Church and taking their places, the *Choir* ſung a Pſalm with its Anthem; which from thence took its name of the *Introit*. The Deacons and their aſſiſtants, the Subdeacons and Door keepers gave every one his place in order as they came; ſo that all was done without any thing of Confuſion; being all ſeated there, they prayed for ſome time in Silence, every Man to himſelf; then the Biſhop Saluted the People, and put an end to their private Prayers, Pronouncing with a lowd Voice his publick Prayer, which from thence took its name of the *Collect*. *Conſt. Ap.* ii. *c.* lvii.

Then the Biſhop ſeated himſelf on his Throne that ſtood at the very end of the Church, and terminated the proſpect of the whole Congregation. Thus every Biſhop was as it were the viſible Image of God in his Church, placed there eminently, as St. *Paul* expreſſes it, to be the pattern to his own Flock, as Jeſus Chriſt was to him. The Prieſts were ſeated on each ſide about him, ſome on the right hand, and others on the left, in the Semicircle of the *Abſis*; and next to them ſtood the Deacons: Thus the Church ſeemed to re- 1 *Cor.* xi. 1. 1 *Tim.* iv. 12. *Tit.* ii. 7.

Apoc. iv. reſemble that Image of Paradiſe given us by St. *John* in the *Apocalypſe*.

The Biſhop on his Throne with a Book in his Hand, as the Fathers are commonly painted, repreſented that Figure of a Man under which God appeared; the Prieſts were that Auguſt Senate deſigned by the four and twenty Elders; the Deacons and other Officers were the Angels ſtanding always in a readineſs to receive and execute the Orders of God. Before the Biſhops Throne ſtood ſeven Candleſticks, and the Altar on which they offered the Incence (that Symbol of Prayer) where they were afterward, tho' under a borrowed form, to offer the unſpotted Lamb of God. Under the ſame Altar were the Bodies of the Martyrs, as under that St. *John* ſaw were the Souls of thoſe to whom it was ſaid, *That they ſhould reſt yet for a little Seaſon.* And laſtly, the number of the Faithful which filled the other part of the Church, repreſented the innumerable Multitude of the Bleſſed, who being Clothed in white Robes, and with Palms in their Hands, ſung with a loud Voice the Praiſes of their Maker: Such was the Face then of their Church-Aſſemblies.

Ordo. Rom. *Apoc.* viii. iii.

Apoc. v.

Apoc. vi. ix. *Baron. ad Martyr.* vi. *Jul.*

Apoc. vii. 9.

The whole Congregation being ſeated, the Reader went up to the Desk and read a Leſſon, firſt out of the Old-Teſtament, and

and after that another out of the new; that is, out of the Acts or Epiſtles of the Apoſtles; for the reading of the Goſpel was reſerved to ſome Prieſt or Deacon. To render theſe Leſſons the more agreeable, and to give the People leiſure to meditate upon them, and the Readers ſome reſpite, there were intermingled with them Pſalms, Anthems, and the ſinging of Allelujas; which were afterwards placed before the Goſpel. All theſe Leſſons of the Scripture, were read in the vulgar Language; that is, in the Language ſpoken by the better ſort of People in every Country: For though in *Africa* the *Punick* Language was vulgarly ſpoken among the inferior ſort of People in the time of St. *Auſtin*; yet we do not find that it was uſed in the Church. But in *Thebais* the Scriptures muſt needs have been read in the *Ægyptian* Language ſince St. *Antony*, who underſtood no other, was converted by his having heard the Goſpel read in the Church. In the upper *Syria*, the greateſt part of the Biſhops underſtood nothing of *Greek*, nor of any other Language but the *Syriack*, as it appears by the Councils, where they were forced to make uſe of Interpreters.

Vi. S. Ant. c. i.

Concil. eph. Concil. Cal. ced Act. x.

AFTER

XXXI. Their Sermon.

AFTER the Leſſons, the Sermon begun, the Biſhop Expounded the Goſpel or ſome other part of Scripture, and often continued a courſe of Expoſitions upon ſome entire Book of the Bible, from the beginning to the end, or elſe paſſing over ſome part of it, he made choice of the moſt important Subjects. Of theſe continued Expoſitions we have Examples in many of St. *Chryſoſtom's* Homilies, in St. *Auſtin* upon the Pſalms, upon St. *John*, and upon the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*. In St. *Ambroſe* we have a ſelected Argument, which begins with the ſix Days work, in imitation of St. *Baſil*; then the Expoſition proceeds to the Hiſtory of *Noah*, *Abraham*, and the other more Illuſtrious Saints of the Old Teſtament; but ſtill obſerving the Order of the Holy Bible. The greateſt part of thoſe Tracts and Commentaries of the Fathers upon the Scriptures are nothing elſe but Sermons preached to their People; which they afterward reduced into Form, or were taken down in Writing as they ſpake them by the Art of ſhort Hand before mentioned.

Theſe holy Preachers were none of your idle Haranguers, like the *Sophiſts* of the Profane Schools, who filled the World with endleſs diſputes only out of a vain Emulation of Contradicting and refining upon each others Notions; or like thoſe who

who laboured in their Closet to shew their Learning and fine Parts: These Prelates were laborious Pastors, who had always their Hands full of business, and were too intent upon the works of Charity, to spend all their time in their Studies; and they were principally employed upon that necessary Office of reconciling Differences and making up the Breaches of Friends Yet did they not suffer their other Engagements to take them off from Preaching, and that very often too; as thinking that they could not otherwise discharge the Duty of their Place, and looking upon the work of Preaching as one of the most Essential parts of their Ministry: For in the first Age all Bishops were Preachers, and scarce were there any other Preachers besides them. 'Twas in the *East* they first began to make here, and there, a Priest of an extraordinary Talent, a Preacher, as *Origen*; nay, and sometimes the Laicks themselves, when they found them very understanding Men. We find also in the *West*, during the Persecutions, that St. *Felix*, though no more then a Priest, was a Preacher at *Nola*. But these Examples were so unfrequent, that many have taken St. *John Chrysostome* and St. *Austin* to have been the first Priests, to whom the Bishops entrusted this Ministry.

v. Aug. de oper. Monach c. 29. & Epis. ad Dioscor. v. Synes. Ep. 55.

Euseb. vi. Hist. 20.

S. Paulin. not.

Hence it is that our Modern Preachers find the Sermons of the Fathers so different from that Idea of Preaching which they have formed to themselves. Their Discourses are plain, without any appearance of Art, without the exactness of Method, without the subtilties of Ratiocination, without the curiosity of Learning; nay, some of them without any Pathos, and the greatest part of them very short. And 'tis true, these holy Bishops did not set up for Oratory and Harranguing: They pretended to no more than to instruct their People in a plain and Familiar way, as Parents speak to their Children, or Masters to their Scholars. And therefore their Pulpit Discourses were called in *Latin*, *Sermons*, and in *Greek*, *Homilies*, which words note such kind of Discourse as is used in common Conversation. Their busines in expounding the Scripture, was to handle it after such a manner as might prove most to the edification of their Hearers; so that they did not pretend to examin every Word and Phrase with the exactness of a Critick, or to Lanch out into curious Enquiries, as the Grammarians explained *Homer* and *Virgil* in their Schools. They expounded the Scriptures according to the Tradition of the Fathers; so as they might tend most to the Confirmation of Faith, and the Reformation of Man-

Manners. They endeavoured to work upon the Affections, not so much by the vehemence of Figures and the force of Declamation, as by the weight and Importance of the Truths they delivered, by the Authority of their Office, by the Sanctity of their Lives and the Exemplarineſs of their good Works.

As for their Stile, That they ſuited to the capacity of their hearers. The Sermons of St. *Auſtin* are the plaineſt of all his Works; the Stile of them is much ſhorter and much eaſier than that of his Epiſtles; becauſe he Preached in a little City to Labourers, Traders, and Seamen; but in his Tracts of Controverſy, eſpecially in his Books againſt *Julian*, one may ſee that he had not forgot his Art of Rhetorick, which he was Profeſſor of for ſo long a time: On the contrary, St. *Cyprian*, St. *Ambroſe*, and St. *Leo*, who preached in great Cities, delivered themſelves with more of pomp and Ornament. Yet their ſtiles vary according to the Particularity of their Genius, or the reliſh of the Ages they lived in. But we muſt obſerve that the faults with which the modern Humaniſts reproach the Fathers, are not to be attributed to the ſubject of Religion. Theſe Criticks charge the Fathers with Impropriety of Language; making uſe of feeble Arguments, poor

Ornaments, farfetch'd Allegories, playing with Words, and Chiming of Syllables. These were the faults of the Age, not of the Men. Had they lived in the Age of *Cicero* or *Terence*, they had spoken as *Cicero* and *Terence*.

The Greek Fathers come nearer to the Ancient Authors. Language had not undergone so great a change in the East, nor had the Studies of Polite Learning been there so much neglected. The works of these Fathers are for the most part very Solid and very entertaining: And among the rest St. *John Chrysostom* is to my thinking, the compleat Pattern of a Preacher. His usual method was to begin with explaining the Scripture, verse by verse as pronounced by the Reader, keeping himself always to the most literal Sense, and that which most tended to Practice. He concluded with a general Exhortation, which hath many times little relation to the foregoing part of his Discourse, but was proportioned to the present Exigencies of his Flock, and directly applyed to his Auditors themselves, as so prudent and vigilant a Pastor saw their Case required. We may observe also that it was his way to encounter Vices Singly, one by one, and when he began with any one, he never gave over the Pursuit till it was either

enti-

entirely Routed, or at leaſt very much diſabled.

Theſe Holy Preachers did not propoſe either Fame or Profit to themſelves by Preaching, but the Converſion of their Hearers. That was the only thing they aimed at, and that they purſued with all their Might, and never thought they had done enough till they had effectually wrought the Change they deſired. Thus St. *Auſtin*, undertook to aboliſh the Practiſe his People had taken up of making entertainments, on the Feaſts of the Martyrs, which were degenerated into Debauches; but notwithſtanding the ſtrength and prevalence of the cuſtome, he broke it off. He ſhewed the People the Evil of that Practiſe, from expreſs Texts of Scripture condemning the ſinfulneſs of immoderate Eating and Drinking, and with Tears in his Eyes exhorted and intreated for two Days together till he had effectually prevailed. There was no danger then of having different Doctrines taught in one and the ſame Church, for there was no other Preacher or Teacher, but the Biſhop himſelf, or ſome Prieſt choſen by him, who Preached there only by his apointment, and generally in his preſence. *Epiſt.* xxix.

In Sermon time the Church was open to all comers, even to the Infidels: Which is the reaſon that the Fathers were ſo *Meth. des Peres c.* xii.

cautious in keeping the Myſteries Secret to themſelves, never ſpeaking of them from the Pulpit, ſave only in an Ænigmatical way. Hence alſo it is that we often find in their Sermons ſome part of the Diſcourſe directed to the Heathens to draw them to the Faith. During the time of the Leſſons and Sermon the Audience were regularly ſeated, the Men on one ſide of the Church and the Women on the other; and to be ſeparate and at a greater diſtance from the reſt of the Congregation, the Women went up into the Galeries where there were any. The more elderly Perſons ſat in the uppermoſt Seats; their Fathers or Mothers held the little Children before them; for they carryed them to Church with them, provided they were Baptized. When all the ſeats were filled, the younger People continued ſtanding on their Feet. There were Deacons appointed on purpoſe to ſee this order obſerved, and to take care that every one heard with attention, not to ſuffer any body to Sleep, Laugh, Whiſper or make Signes; in a Word, to keep every body ſilent, Regular and Well behav'd. In *Africa* St. *Auſtin* takes notice that the People *Stood* all Sermon time, but he himſelf betrer approved the cuſtom of the Tranſmarine Churches, as he calls them, where they *Heard, Sitting.*

Conſt. Ap. ii. *c.* lvii.

Auguſt. de Catechiz. rud. c. xxiii.

The

The Sermon being over, the Deacons obliged all those who were not to receive the Sacrament to depart. And in the first place the Audientes and Infidels: Afterwards they made their Prayers for the Catechumens, and caused them to depart; then they Prayed for the *Energumeni*, or those that were Possessed with Evil Spirits, and caused them to go out; after that they did the like for the Competentes, and at last also for those under Penance. Thus there remaining in the Church only the Faithful without any mixture, they made their Prayers for the whole state of Christ's Church; for all Orders and conditions of Men whether Ecclesiastical or Civil; for all that were any ways Afflicted or Distressed; for their Enemies, and for their Persecutors. The Deacon put them in mind whom they were then to Pray for, and the Bishop pronounced the Words of Prayer, after the same form and manner as is still observed in our Churches on Good-friday. At other Masses we now supply these Prayers by those of the *Prone*. Then the Bishop Saluted the People again, and the Deacon said with a loud Voice, *Has any one any thing to object against any Man? Is there here any one not heartily Reconciled? Embrace one another.* Then as a sign of their being all in perfect Cha-

Const. Apost. viii. c. vi

Conc. Laod. c. xix.

Dionys. Hier. Eccl. c. iii.

Chrysost. hom. iii. *in ep. ad Ephes.*

rity, they gave each other the Kiſs of Peace; the Clergy, by themſelves, and amongſt the Layety, the Men by themſelves, and the Women by themſelves.

XXXII. The Sacrifice and Sacred Habits.

AFTER all theſe preparatorys began the *Sacrifice*. The Deacons aſſiſted by the Subdeacons, ſpread the Cloath on the Altar, and upon another Table, (now called the *Credence*, from that Italian Word ſignifying a Cupboard) they ſet in order the Communion Plate, and amongſt the reſt, the Patens and Calices, and for Decency and Cleanlineſs ſake covered them with a Cloath over them. Then, as the Author of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions informs us, the Biſhop came to the Altar in a rich Habit. Which ſhews that they had even in thoſe Days particular Habits for the Altar.

Conſt. Apoſt. viii. *c.* xii.

Not that thoſe Habits had any thing ſingular in the make or Figure of them. The *Chaſuble* was a common wearing Habit in the time of St. *Auſtin*, and the like we find of the *Dalmatick* in the time of the Emperor *Valerian*. The *Stole* was a kind of Cloak, and worn by Women as well as Men; we have now confounded it with the *Orarium*, which was a kind of Linnen Handkerchief, worn by thoſe who affected Neatneſs, to wipe the Sweat off their Necks and Faces; And the

Auguſt. 22. *Civit. c.* viii. *de Florentio Sartore Hippon. V. ff. de veſtim. leg.*

V. Thomaſſ. Diſcipl. P. i. *l.* i. *c.* 31. *& P.* ii. *l.* i. *c.* xxiii.

the *Maniple* was only a Napkin hanging croſs their Arms, for their more decent ſerving at the Holy Table. The *Albe* it ſelf, that is the White Robe of either Linnen or Woollen, was not at the beginning an Habit peculiar to Clerks, ſince the Emperor *Aurelian* gave the People of *Rome* a largeſs of theſe kind of Tunicks, as well as of thoſe large Handkerchiefs which they called *Oraria*. *Mappula.* *Surplice.* *Vopiſ. Aur.*

But as afterwards when the *Albe* was the common Habit of the Clergy in which they allways appeared, the Prieſts were enjoyned to have by them one particular *Albe*, never to be put on, but at the Altar, that they might then appear unſullied. So tis probable that when they commoly wore the *Chaſuble* and the *Dalmatick*, they had particular ones for the uſe of the Altar, not differing in Shape from the common ſort, but of richer Stuffs and Livelyer Colours. Above all the Canons require of the Prieſts and Deacons never to perform the publick Offices of the Church without having on their *Orarium*; the uſe of which was at the ſame time forbidden to the Inferiour Miniſters. *Hom. Leon. P.* iv. *to* viii. *Conc. P.* xxxiv. *Conſtit. Riculfi. Sueſs. c.* 7. *an.* 589. *to* ix. *Conc.* *Conc. Brac.* iv. *c.* iii. *an.* 675. *Conc. Laod. c.* xii. 13.

They were willing that the Clergy even by their Figure and Appearance, ſhould give the People a great notion of their Character. That their Faces, their Hands and their Cloaths appearing clean and

and without ſpots might be a ſign of an inward Purity and Innocence; that the Modeſty and Gravity of their Looks, their Air and Motion might command Reſpect and excite Religion. The Prelates were ſo Nice herein, that St. *Ambroſe* turned out of the number of the Clergy two Perſons, the one for an Indecent Mien, and the other for an unſeemly way of Walking. And the event juſtifyed the judgment he made both upon the one and the other. But here it muſt ſtill be remembred that thoſe Fathers were *Greeks* and *Romans*, who had the higheſt Ideas of true Decorum, and were poliſhed to the greateſt exactneſs.

Amb. ii. *off.* c. 19.

The Biſhop ſtanding at the Altar, took from the Hands of the Deacons the Oblations they had received from the People; but in ſome Churches the Biſhop himſelf went to receive the Offerings of the more honourable Perſons, ſuch as the Senators and their Wives at *Rome*: For all Perſons Great and Small, the Magiſtrates and Princes themſelves Communicated together. On the Altar was placed only the Bread and Wine, which was to be the matter of the Sacrifice. As for all other ſorts of Oblations, the Luminary, the Money in Specie, and whatſoever elſe the Faithful offered for the Occaſions of the Church, the Deacons received thoſe and laid

Ordo. Rom.

Can. Apoſt. iii, iv.

laid them up in Places appointed for that purpose: 'Tis true, they laid upon the Altar the new Fruits to have a Benediction pronounced over them at the end of the Sacrifice.

They used for the *Eucharist* no other Bread but what was offered by the People, and blessed by the Bishop; and as a sign of Communion with those that were absent, they sent to them some of the Bread blessed, but not Consecrated. All the faithfull were obliged to offer, at least all that were to Communicate; nor was it thought reasonable that the Rich should Communicate of that which the poor offered. The Bishop himself made his offering; and to that purpose there was at *Rome* the Bishops Oblationary Subdeacon. So that the Loaves of Bread came in there in such vast Numbers, that the Altar was (as is expressed in some of the ancient Prayers) as it were overloaded with them. The Corporal was a large Table Cloth stretched out at length, and held by two Deacons at the two ends of the Altar, to receive these Oblations. It belonged to the Arch-Deacon to place these Loaves decently on the Altar, and to set the *Calice* of Wine there, which was to be Consecrated; and to be better assured, there was nothing in it, they strained it through a Silver Cullander.

Epist. decr. Inocenti. ad decentium.

Ordo. Rom.

Sacr. in nativ. S. Jo. & in vig. omn. SS.

Ordo. Rom.

Componere altare.

The

The Paſtor after the Oblation of the Bread and Wine, offered alſo the Incenſe which was to repreſent the Prayers of the faithfull; as St. *John* in the Apocalyps, ſaw an Angel employed at the Altar in offering up to God theſe ſpiritual Odors. They fumed with the Incenſe (as is ſtill done) the Altar, the Oblations, the Clergy, and the People; and to this uſe they apply'd none but right Perfumes, the beſt Franckincence, and other *Aromatick* Gums, the richeſt then known in the World; and that with ſuch a Magnificence too, that the Church of *Rome* had Lands in *Syria* and other Provinces of the Eaſt appropriated for ſupplying the Altar with theſe Perfumes. During the Offertory, was ſung a Pſalm; of which there is now left only a Verſicle, which was with them the Anthem.

Apoc. viii. 3, 4, 5.

XXXIII. Conſecration, Communion. *Conſt. Apo.* viii. xi.

AFTER the Offerings were performed, the Doors of the Church were ſhut and carefully Guarded by ſome of the Deacons or Oſtiaries, placed there for that purpoſe, who might not open them even to the Faithful themſelves, till the Communion was over. Other Deacons there were walking ſoftly about the Church to ſee that no body made the leaſt noiſe; and it was the peculiar buſineſs of one, or the leaſt ſign of them to keep an Eye over the Children

dren: They had a place aſſigned them near the Biſhop's Chair; and as for thoſe that were very ſmall, their Mothers were ordered to take them into their Arms: Thus all the People were kept to a deep ſilence, and heard with a profound Reverence and Attention, the Prayers of the *Preface*, and of that part of the Service which we now call the *Canon*. The Biſhop Pronounced the Words with a loud Voice, and all the People ſaid *Amen*, as they did at the end of all other Prayers. Theſe Prayers were much longer than they are now, as is ſtill to be ſeen in the Oriental Liturgies. The Church of *Rome* retained hath nothing of this form but the Eſſentials; formerly this *Canon* was an Abridgment of the Hiſtory of Religion, Praiſing God for the Creation of the World, for reſtoring it after the Deluge, for the call of *Abraham*; for the ſpecial Favours vouchſafed to the Children of *Iſrael*; and laſtly, for the Incarnation of his Son, and the Redemption of Mankind. *Conſt. Apo.* viii. 12.

After the Conſecration, the Biſhop took the Communion himſelf firſt; then he gave it to the Prieſts, then to the Deacons and other Clerks, after them to the *Aſceticks* or *Monks*, to the Deaconneſſes, to the Virgins and other Religious Perſons, to Children, and at laſt to all the People. To ſhorten this Service, which was al- *Conſt. Apo.* viii. 13.

ways

ways very long; many of the Priests assisted at the same time, in distributing the Body of our Lord; and many of the Deacons in Administering of the Cup: And to avoid Confusion, the Priest and Deacons carried the Communion walking through the ranks of the People, in the same Order as they had before received the Offerings; none of the Communicants stirring out of his place. The Men received the Body of Jesus Christ in their Hands; and the Women in peices of Linnen made on purpose for that use. The Crumbs and Fragments that were left of the *Eucharist*, they gave to little Children; and the rest of the Bread offered, but not Consecrated, was distributed among those who did not Communicate: And from hence came the *Panis Benedictus* or the Blessed Bread. During the Communion they sung a Psalm, of which we have now nothing left but the Anthem. In the Fourth Age the Communion began to be less frequented than formerly. St. *Chrysostom* complains that many came to the sacred Mysteries and did not Communicate; and that many others Communicated only on the Festivals, and others again that Communicated but once or twice a Year.

Ord. Rom.

Hom. iii. in ep. ad Eph.

Hom. 17. in ep. ad Heb.

From all this it follows, that their *Liturgy* must needs have been long: Nor in-

indeed did Christians then think they had any thing else to do on Sundays but to serve God. St. *Gregory* to shew how his Infirmities were increased upon him, complains that he was scarce able to stand upon his Legs for those three Hours while he performed the Office of the Church. And yet the *Canon* of the Mass was much the same then as it is now; and those Sermons of his which are left us are very short. *Lib.* viii. *ep.* xxxv.

XXXIV. The Chant and Magnificence of the publick Service.

ALL the Publick Service of the Church was accompanied with Singing. The same hath been observed of the former times; but 'tis to be supposed this publick Singing grew much more in use upon the Churches being freed from Persecution: St. *Austin* ascribes to St. *Ambrose* the having introduced into the West the use of Singing the *Psalms* in imitation of the Churches of the East, and it is about the same time that we find St. *Damasus* the Pope enjoining it. St. *Basil* tells us, that in his time the Psalms were sung both in Private Houses and in publick Places; and that the singing was so agreeable, that the pleasure help'd to convey the Religion of the Hymn into the minds of the People with more advantage: And this was the true design of Musick.

August. ix. *Confes.* vii.

Lib. Pontif in Damaso

Basil. *in Psalm.* i.

The

The Antient Muſick was not yet loſt, which was diverſifyed into ſeveral kinds of Harmony, variouſly applyed as the Nature of the Subject did require, Soft or Strong, Gay or Sad, Grave or Paſſionate. And we may conclude that in the Services of the Church, they made choice of that which agreed beſt with the Majeſty and Purity of Religion; and that they carefully avoided to apply to the ſacred Myſteries, and the prayſing of God Soft and Effæminate Airs, or ſuch as might tend to affect the Heart with too ſenſible a Tenderneſs, or put the Spirits into any dangerous Commotion. However St. *Auſtin* thought the Singing in the Weſt ſomewhat too Soft and *Secular*; and judged the Practiſe of St. *Athanaſius* more Safe, who cauſed the Pſalms to be pronounced by the Reader with ſo ſmall an alteration of Voice, that it was rather plain ſpeaking then ſinging. I leave it to thoſe who underſtand this Science to inquire whether we have not ſome remains of this Antiquity in our *Plein Chant* or Church Muſick brought in by St. *Gregory*. For what we now call Muſick, is certainly a clearly Different thing and altogether Modern. As for the Chanting of the Prayers and Leſſons, that we ſee conſiſts but of very few Notes, only to help to keep up the Voice, and mark the diſtinction

V. Platon. iii. *de Repub.*

x. Conf 33.

of

of the Periods. I think I have laid enough to shew how well the Bishops of these first times, understood to manage the objects of Sense, so as to make them subservient to the end of Religion, and by their help to make Impressions of Piety even upon the most heavy and Illiterate. For Instance let us suppose the solemn manner of their Celebrating the *Vigil* of Easter at *Rome*, under the Pope St. *Leo*. The Faithful on that Holy Night (with their reverend Bishop at the Head of them) Assembled together in a Body in the Lateran Church. In the first place immediately upon the Benediction of the new Fire, an incredible number of Lights made the Holy Night look as glorious as a fine Day. We may imagin what a charming Sight it must needs have been to see this August Magnificent Church filled with such a Numerous Assembly and yet in so vast a Multitude of People nothing of Noise, Tumult or Confusion; but every one Regularly disposed and Ranged according to the Quality of their Age and Sex, and the station they held in the Church. And especially distinguish'd from the rest were those who were to receive Baptism that very Night, together with those who had accomplished their Pennance and had been but two Days before Readmitted into the Church. Their Eyes were enter-

V. Euseb. vi. Hist. c. ix

tained on every ſide with the Marbles and Paintings, the glittering of the Gold, Silver and Precious Stones that Sparkled upon the Conſecrated Plate, and eſpecially near the Holy Altar. The ſilence of the Night admitted of no other Interruption, but the Leſſons out of the Prophets Pronounced with a clear diſtinct and intelligible Voice, and intermixt with the Singing of the Verſicles; that ſo this Variety might make both of them more agreeable. So many grand and delightful Objects preſenting themſelves at one and the ſame time, could not but awaken the Soul and inſpire her with Vigour both to attend to thoſe Holy Leſſons and profit by them, eſpecially being prepared for them before hand, by continual exerciſes in the Word of God. What muſt the Gravity and Modeſty of the Deacons and other ſacred Miniſters have needs been, who were made choice of, and bred by ſuch a Prelate, and ſerv'd in his preſence, or rather in the preſence of God, whom their own thoughts repreſented to them always before their Eyes? But above all, How Majeſtick muſt the Pope himſelf appear, ſo venerable for his Learning, his Elocution, his Zeal, his Courage, and all his other Vertues? With what an awefull Reverence, with how Affectionate a Piety muſt he have pronounced

ted over the Sacred Fonts, those Prayers which he himself first Composed; and which his successors have found so Pious, that they have still preserved the same for us the space of twelve hundred Years? I can no longer Wonder that on these occasions and under such helps of Devotion, the Christians of those Days should quite forget their Body; and having Fasted all the Day before, should pass this Holy Night of the Resurrection also in Watching and Prayer without eating a bitt till the Day following.

XXXV. The Solemnity of Feasts of the Church. *Pilgrimages.*

BUT this great Day being come, and the time of their Fasts expired, the greatest Saints did not only allow, but also enjoyn the refreshing of the Body. How profitable soever Fasting might be to raise up the Soul to God, and Facilitate the Duty of Prayer, for which exercise of Devotion the Feasts of the Church were chiefly designed; yet it was forbidden to fast on Sundays, or on the Festival Days, or throughout the whole *Quinquagesima*. So they called it, not as we do now, the fifty Days before Easter, but the fifty Days between Easter and Whitsunday. 'Tis true the Monks of Egypt used great precautions least they should by this little Relaxation lose the fruit of their past Abstinence. But at last they observed

Cass. Collat xxi. *de remiss. quinq.*

Vie de saint Pacome. c. viii. the Church Distinction. St. *Pacomus* according to the direction of St. *Palemon* his Master on Easter-day Eat a Sallet of Herbs and Oil instead of dry Bread only, which was their usual Dyet at other times. A certain Holy Priest, as God had put it into his mind, on an Easter Day carryed to St. *Benet* a present of Provisions for him to make better Cheer at that time than ordinary, and to express a more sensible rejoycing on the same Occasion. St *Anthony* was wont on Easter and Whitsunday to put on his Coat of Palmtree-leaves, which was left him by St. *Paul* the first Hermite, and St. *Athanasius* at the same time appeared clad in the Cloak St. *Anthony* had left to him. And from that time forward, it was an established custom among Christians to apparel themselves on the Festivals in their Richest Habits, and to make better Fare than ordinary on those Days.

S. Greg. li. Dial, c. i.

S. Leo. Serm. iii. de Quadrages.

The Feasts of the Martyrs had proportionable honours paid to them, and were Celebrated with a great Concourse of People. On Sundays and other Feasts, common to the whole Church, every one was content to stay at home with his own Bishop. But on these special Feasts, they ran from all parts to celebrate the Memory of the Saints; so that upon these occasions many of the Bishops themselves of-

often met together at their Tombs. By one example, we may judge of the rest. St. *Paulinus* reckons up more then twenty names, as well of Cities as Provinces in *Italy*, whose Inhabitants did every Year assemble together in vast Troops with their Wives and Children to Celebrate the Feast of St. *Felix*; notwithstanding the Rigor of the Season, it being kept on the fourteenth of *January*: And all this only for one single confessor in that single City of *Nola*. What then must have been done throughout the whole Christian World? What at *Rome*, upon the Feast of St. *Hippolytus*, of St. *Laurence*, of the Apostles, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*? They flocked to *Rome* from the most distant places, and at all times: And that was the Rise of *Pilgrimages*. In the time of the Persecution under the Emperor *Claudius* the second, St. *Marius* together with St. *Martha* his Wife and Children, took a jorney to *Rome* on purpose to perform their Devotions there; and upon that occasion they there suffered Martyrdome. The same hapned not long after to St. *Maurus*, who came out of *Affrica* to visit the Sepulchers of the Apostles. And before St. *Alexander* was chosen Bishop of *Jerusalem* and joyned with *Narcissus* in the Administration of the same See, he took a Pilgrimage from *Cappadocia* to *Jerusalem*

Natali. 3.

Prud. Peristeph. ii. 11, 12.

Martyr. Jun. xxix. *de* S. Cassio.

Martyrol. xix. *Janu.*

Ibid. xxii. *Novem.*

Euseb. vi. hist. ii. on purpose to see the Holy City, there and visit the Celebrated Places of Devotion thereabouts.

And indeed this was a proper means of assisting piety by Sense. The sight of the Reliques of a Saint; his Sepulchre, his Prison, his Chains and the Instruments of his Martyrdom: All these made a quite different Impression upon the Mind from the bare hearing of these things spoken of at a distance. To which add the Miracles frequently wrought at their Tombs, which often made the Infidels themselves glad to visit them, upon the pressing Interests of their Lives and Healths. Every one knows that one of the first effects of the liberty of Christianity was St. *Helena's* care to have due Honours done to the Holy Places of the City of *Jerusalem*, and throughout all the Holy Land; And from that time forward, the practise of going in Pilgrimage to those Places of Devotion, became more common than before. And St. *Jerome*, an eye Witness, assures us that there were always to be seen in the Holy City a vast concourse of all sorts of Itinerant People flocking thither from all parts of the World, even Doctors and Bishops themselves. Nor was it then so difficult a thing to take such long Journeys through the vast extent of the *Roman* Empire, by

Hier. ad Marcell.

rea-

reason of the convenience of its situation all round the *Mediterranean* Sea, and the great Roads they had laid out in all Quarters for the passage of their Armies and publick Carriages: So that it was no great adventure now to pass from *Spain* or *Gaul* into *Ægypt*, or *Palestine* or *Asia*.

This Honour could be paid to the Martyrs only in the places were they had suffered, till they found the way of dividing and Translating their Reliques. The *Greeks* generally took to that method; but at *Rome* St. *Gregory* the Pope declares that to his time, for the Reliques of the holy Apostles, they only sent abroad some peices of Linnen that had touched their Sepulchres, or Golden Keys which had locked up some of the fileings of St. *Peter's* Chains. Every Nation was careful even to a Jealousy, to keep to themselves their Reliques, as Pledges of the Protection of the Saints, and a Blessing sent from Heaven to the City or Province in whose Custody they were lodged: Nor were the Temporal advantages they reaped from them inconsiderable: The Inhabitants were enriched by the concourse of Pilgrims; and the veneration for the Memory of the Saints often moved the Princes to grant the right of Sanctuary, and exemption from Taxes to the places where their Reliques were deposited. Every one

Greg. iii. *ep.* 30. *Brandea.*

S. Greg. ep. v. vi. vi. 23.

V. Prud. Perist. pas. sim.

knows the extraordinary Priviledges of St. *Martin* of *Tours* in *France*.

Greg. Turon. hist.

'Tis probable alſo, 'twas not till theſe Times of the Liberty of the Church that the courſe of the Eccleſiaſtical Year was brought to an exact regulation. The Queſtion concerning the Day on which Eaſter ought to be Celebrated, was not entirely determined till the Council of *Nice*, as indeed there had not till then been held any Oecumenical Council, becauſe it was a thing impoſſible under the Heathen Emperors to bring together ſo great an Aſſembly of Biſhops. It was in theſe times a received Rule not to Adminiſter Baptiſm but on Eaſter or Witſunday, as appears by the Pope St. *Leo*'s condemning the practice of the Biſhops of *Sicily* who Baptiſed at *Epiphany*. In the ſame Epiſtle he alſo gives us the Reaſons of the Church for inſtituting her Feaſts, and Appropriating them to the different parts of the Eccleſiaſtical year, and how all this was done for the more ſolemn Commemoration of the ſeveral Myſteries of the Life of Jeſus Chriſt.

Leo. ep. iv.

Nor was it till theſe times of Liberty that the Solemn Faſts of the Church were generally taken notice of; and more eſpecially that of *Lent* Faſt. No perſon whatſoever was diſpenced with from keeping the Faſt; no Condition, no Age could

Baſil orat. ii. de jejun. Hier. Epi. vii. ad Læ. tam. 22. ad Euſtoch.

could plead an Exemption. All business was laid a side: One might have seen the most populous Cities as still and quiet as Deserts. The faithful passed the greatest part of the Day in the Churches, praying, Reading the Scriptures, and hearing Sermons; whence it comes to pass, that the Office for the days of *Lent* is always longer than the usual Service at other times. During all that Season, there were Celebrated no Feasts of the Martyrs, nor any Persons allowed to Marry. To the Ninth Age the Custome continued, forbearing Acts of Hostility all the time of *Lent*, and neither Armies to March, nor People to Travel, unless upon Extraordinary Occasions.

Chrysost. in Gen. hom. i. init.

XXXVI. The Ceremonies of Pennance.

ALL these Observations were but the Consequences of Pennance, to which those Days of Fasting were peculiarly designed; and that is the reason why the Preparation of those who were to receive Baptism was reserved to the time of *Lent*; as was also the satisfactions which were to be made by those who were fallen after Baptism. The joyful Feasts of *Christmas* and *Epiphany* being past, they entred upon a Course of Praying for the Remission of Sins, and of exciting Sinners to Repentance; as we now do from *Septuagesima Sunday*; for that is manifestly the design of

of all the Offices proper to that Seaſon. The Leſſons out of *Geneſis* repreſent to us the Power of the Creator, his Juſtice and his Severity. Here we ſee *Adam* driven out of the Terreſtial Paradiſe, the guilty old World deſtroyed by the Deluge, and thoſe four infamous Cities conſumed with Fire from Heaven. They whoſe Conſciences were awakened by theſe Examples, and by the powerful Exhortations of the Prelates, apply'd themſelves to them or to their Prieſts appointed to this Miniſtry; and after having made ſincere Confeſſion of their Sins, received thereupon neceſſary Inſtructions what they were to to do. For it belonged to the Paſtor to Judge whether he who accuſed himſelf, was fit to be admitted to Pennane; what Penalty ſhould be impoſed, and for how long a time; whether his Pennance ſhould be ſecret or open, and whether it were proper for the Edification of the Church, that he ſhould make the ſame Confeſſion in publick. Young Perſons were not readily admitted to Pennance by reaſon of the Frailty of their Age, which made them affraid their Converſion might not hold. Their Converſion was likewiſe ſuſpected who did not deſire Pennance till the Extremity of Sickneſs: Theſe if they recovered were obliged to go thorow their Courſe of Canonical Pennance.

Orig. hom. ii. in pſ. 38. Socr. v. hiſt. c. 19.

Innoc. i. ad Exup. c. Augu. Ser. 57. de temp. Conc. Ara. i. c. iii. Carth. iv. can. 76. 78.

Many

Many did publick Pennance without any ones knowing the Particular Sins for which they did it, and many performed their Pennance in private for great Crimes, as Married Women for Adulteries committed unknown to their Husbands; thoſe whoſe being expoſed to publick Pennance would have occaſioned too much Scandal, as Prieſts and others that would have loſt their Lives if their Crimes had been made Publick. But to have ſeen Chriſtians Faſting, Praying, Proſtrating themſelves upon the Earth, even out of ſimple Devotion, was then ſo common a ſight, that none ever thought of enquiring into the particular occaſions of it. The times of Pennance were either longer or ſhorter, according to the different uſages of Churches; and thoſe Penitental Canons which are now remaining, differ very much from one another; but the more ancient generally the more ſevere. St. *Baſil* allots two years for Theft, ſeven for Fornication, eleven for Perjury, fifteen for Adultery, Twenty for Murder, and the whole Life for Apoſtacy.

Aug. Epiſt. 118. *ad Jan. Proſpe. contempl.* ii. *c.* 7

S. Leo. Ep. 80. & 92. *ad Ruſtic. c.* ii.

Ep. iii. *Can. ad Amphiloch. c.* 56. 58, 59. 61. 64. 73.

They who were enjoined to do publick Pennance, applied themſelves to the Arch-Prieſt or the Prieſt Penitentiary, who took down their names in writing; after that, on the firſt Day of *Lent*, they preſented themſelues at the Door of the Church in

Pont. Rom. v. Hier. epitaph. Fabiolæ.

Sozom. vii. *hiſt. c.* 16.

The Manners of the Iſraelites. in Engliſh c. 17. & 19.

a poor and torn Habit; for ſuch with the ancients were their Mourning Dreſſes: Being entred the Church, they received from the hands of the Biſhop aſhes to ſtrew on their Heads and Sackcloth to cover their Bodies; thus they remained lying upon the Ground, while the Biſhop with the Clergy, and all the People kneeled down and prayed for them. The Biſhop made an Exhortation to let them Underſtand that he was going to drive them out of the Church for a time, as God drove *Adam* out of Paradiſe for his Tranſgreſſion, bidding them at the ſame time be of good courage, and labour in hope of the Mercy of God; then he actually put them out of the Church, and immediately the Door was ſhut againſt them. The Penitents generally kept themſelves cloſe ſhut up, paſſing their time in Praying and mourning, ſave on the Feſtival or Station days, on which they preſented themſelves at the Door of the Church, and this they continued to do for ſome time: Afterward they were admitted to enter the Church and hear the reading of the Scriptures and the Sermon, but obliged to depart before Prayers began. After that they were admitted to join in Prayer with the faithful, but in a poſture of Proſtration. At laſt they were admitted to pray ſtanding as others tho' yet ſtill they were diſtinguiſh-

Lib. ſacrament. Amb. i. pæn. c. 16. pænit Rom. tit. i. c. 11.

S. Eſig. hom viii.

guished from the rest of the Congregation, by being placed on the left side of the Church; from hence it appears there were four Orders of Penitents, the *Flentes*, the *Audientes*, the *Prostrati*, and the *Consistentes*; that is those that Prayed standing: And the whole course of Pennance was divided into these four States. *Conc. Antiyr.* *Consistentes.*

As for instance, he that had been guilty of willful Murder, was four years among the *Flentes*; that is to say, he was to come to the Door of the Church at the Hours of Prayer, and to stand there, not so much as in the Porch, but in a place exposed to the Weather. He was to be cloathed with Sackcloth, to have Ashes on his Head, and not to cut his Hair. Thus he stood beging of the Faithful as they entred into the Church to take pity on him and to pray to God for him: And so indeed they did; the whole Church in her publick Service always remembring to pray for the Penitents in particular, as she still doth during the time of *Lent*. The five following years he was in the rank of *Auditors*, He entered the Church to hear the Instructions there delivered, but so as to remain in the *Vestibulum* or Porch only, with the *Catechumens*; and to depart before the Prayers began: From thence he passed to the third Rank, and *S. Bas. can.* 56. *Ep. S. Greg. Thaum. c. i.* *Ambros. de pœnit.* i. c. vii. 15. 2. c. vii. 10.

was

was admitted to join in Prayers with the Faithful, but in the ſame place as before, and Proſtrate or lying down upon the Floor, and he went out with the *Catechumens*. After having been ſeven years in this State, he paſſed to the laſt, in which he remained four years, joining in Prayer with the Faithful, and ſtanding as they did; but was not permitted to offer or Communicate with them. At laſt his twenty Years of Pennance being thus accompliſhed, he was again received into full Communion with the Church, and admitted to the Participation of Holy things, that is the Euchariſt.

The ſame Proportion was obſerved in the Fifteen Years Pennace of the Adulterer. He was four Years among the *Flentes*, five among the *Audientes*, four with the *Proſtrati*, and two with the *Conſiſtentes*. And by this one may judge of the other ſort of Offenders. Not that time alone did always determine the Pennance. The Biſhops carefully examined the Proficiency of the Penitents, and from thence took their Meaſures either of uſing them with a greater indulgence, or of deferring their Reconciliation. Their Fundamental Rule was to labour all they could for the Salvation of their Neighbour; but not ſo as to deſtroy themſelves together with thoſe who were incorrigible. The Penitent

S. Baſil. ibid. 84, 85

tent therefore did not advance from one degree to another, but only by the apointment of the Biſhop: But if he dyed during the courſe of his Pennance, before he had accompliſhed it and received Abſolution; they had yet good hopes of his Salvation. They prayed for him, and offered for him the Holy Sacrifice. When the Biſhop judged it proper to put a final Period to his Pennance, it was done at the end of *Lent*, that the Pennitent might reenter upon his Participation of the Holy Myſteries at the Feaſt of *Eaſter*.

Ambr. ii. *pœnit.* c. 9.

Conc. Arel. ii. c. 23. *Con. Carth.* iv. c. 59.

On Holy Turſday the Penitents preſented themſelves at the Door of the Church. The Biſhop having offered up many Prayers to God on their behalf, cauſed them to enter, at the inſtances of the Arch Deacon; repreſenting to him that this was a time proper for Clemency, and that 'twas but reaſonable that as the Church encreaſed the number of her Flock at that time by the new Baptized, ſhe ſhould take alſo then into her fold again the ſtrayed Sheep. The Arch-Prieſt alſo interceded on behalf of the Penitents, and gave them his Teſtimonial that they were worthy to be reconciled. For to him it belonged to examine them during the time of their Penance. Then the Biſhop made an Exhortation to them, putting them in mind of the mercies of God,

Pont. Rom.

and

and of that newneſs of life which they ought to live in for the time to come, requiring them in token of their Conſent and promiſe thereunto to hold up their Hands. At length ſuffering himſelf to be prevailed upon by the intreaties of the Church, and being perſwaded of the ſincerity of their Converſion, he gave them Solemn Abſolution. Then they ſhaved and polled themſelves, quitted their Penitential habits and began to live like the other Faithful. There was without doubt great diverſity in theſe outward Ceremonies, according to the difference of times and places. But they all tended to the ſame end, and had a powerful Effect to make the offender ſenſible of the Enormity of ſin, and of the difficulty of recovering out of it; and to keep thoſe ſtill within bounds who as yet had preſerved their Innocence. Should a Man, ſaith St. *Auſtin, too eaſily return to the Happineſs of his firſt Eſtate, he would look upon the falling into Mortal ſin as a meer Triffle.*

S. Elig. hom. viii. & 11.

Serm. xxiv. *de divers.*

XXXVII. Chriſtian Princes.

NO PERSON how great ſoever in the World was exempt from Pennance. Princes were as Subject to it as private Perſons; and the Example of *Theodoſius* will never be forgotten in the Church. In the foregoing Ages none could have be-

believed that the great ones would ever have ſubmitted themſelves to the ſeverity of the Churches Diſcipline. They could not poſſibly conceive how the Humility and Mortification of a Chriſtian could have been reconciled with abſolute power and vaſt poſſeſſions, 'Twas this undoubtedly that made *Tertullian* ſay that the *Cæſars* had become Chriſtians long before, if they could have been at the ſame time *Cæſars* and Chriſtians; and *Origen* ſpeaks of it much after the ſame manner. This ſtrange work hath God at laſt brought to paſs in the ſight of the whole World. And this is that mighty Change that gave Date to the Liberty of the Church, that period of time I am now ſpeaking of.

Apol. c. xxi.

Cont. Cels. L. viii.

Preſently upon the Converſion of *Conſtantine* the name of Jeſus Chriſt was written upon the Roman Enſigns, and his Croſs diſplayed in the midſt of their *Armys*. That Inſtrument of the moſt Infamous Puniſhment was now turned into the moſt glorious Ornament of the Imperial Diadem. The Emperor had an Oratory in his Palace, where he ſhut himſelf up whole Days together to read the Holy Scriptures: Obſerving the ſtated hours of Prayer, and more eſpecially on Sundays, upon which he obliged the Heathens themſelves to reſt from their

Euſeb. iv. *vita Conſt.* c. xvii. xxi.

Sozom. i. Hist. c. viii. Labours. He caused to be carryed in his Army a Tent in the form of a Church, for singing Divine Service in and Administring the Sacraments to the Faithful; and to that purpose he was always attended by some Priests and Deacons. He made *Constantinople* a City perfectly Christian. The Eve of Easter was Celebrated there with a most magnificent Illumination, not only within the Churches, but without. All over the City there were set up lighted Tapers, or rather Pillars of Wax, which gloriously turned the Night into Day. In the principal *Squares* of the City, one might have seen the Fountains adorned with the Images of the good Shepherd or of *Daniel* in the Lion's Den. There were no Idols or Temples of the false Gods to be found within her Walls. Who knows not how Magnificenly *Constantine* treated the Fathers of the *Nicence* Council, and the Honours he did them. He furnished them with carriages to bring them from the most Remote parts of that vast Empire; he defrayed their Expences all the time of their Session, and sent them home Loaded with Presents. He burn't the Bills of Accusation that had been preferred to him against the Bishops; he Kissed the Scarrs of the Confessors, that still had upon them the marks of the Persecution; he entred the Coun-

Euseb. iii. vita Const. c. xlvii.

Euseb. iii. Vita Const. c. vi. vii.

Socrat hist. i. c. v. viiii

Council without his Guards, appeared there with a Modeſt and Reſpectful Air, and did not ſit down till the Biſhops gave him a ſign. At the Concluſion of the Council he made a great Feaſt for them in his Palace, and ſate at Table with them. Then it was that Jeſus Chriſt was manifeſtly ſeen Reigning over the Kings of the Earth!

Theodoſius the Great, did yet more Honour to Religion, and that by the practice of thoſe vertues it requires: He was much in Prayer, apply'd himſelf to God in his greateſt Affairs, and aſcribed to him the ſucceſs of his Armes: He had ſuffered himſelf to be tranſported into a Paſſion againſt the Inhabitants of *Theſſalonica*. The Sin was great, but his Repentance was Proportionable, and he valued none of the Biſhops ſo highly as St. *Ambroſe*; becauſe he found none that leſs flattered him. His Empreſs hath alſo an high Character given her in Hiſtory for her Piety, and for her Charity towards the Poor. The ſame Spirit run through the Family, but ſhined forth moſt brightly in St. *Pulcheria* their Grand-daughter; who at the Age of fifteen (together with her two Siſters) Conſecrated herſelf to God by a Vow of Virginity, and who without quiting the Court, led a Life in it ſo retired, ſo full of Buſineſs, ſo Religious, that the Wri-

Theod. hiſt. Eccle. iv. c. 17.

ters of thoſe times compared the Palace to a Monaſtery, the Holieſt thing they could think of.

In this School of vertue ſhe cauſed to be brought up the young Emperor *Theodoſius* her Brother, making him practice the ſame exerciſes of Religion with her ſelf. He roſe conſtantly at the dawn of the Day to join with his Siſters in ſinging the Praiſes of God, Prayed often, frequented the Churches, and preſented them largely: He faſted often, principally on *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*: His Palace was furniſhed with a choice Library of Eccleſiaſtical Writers. He had the Holy Scripture by Heart, and diſcourſed of it with the Biſhops as readily as if he had been one of them himſelf. He gave a great reſpect to them, and had an honour for all good Chriſtians. He cauſed the Reliques of many Saints to be tranſlated with great Pomp. He founded many Hoſpitals and many Monaſteries.

Socr. vii. *c.* 22.

Sozom. ix. *c.* i. *Theod.* iv. *c.* 36.

His Siſter did not only exerciſe him in the Practices of Religion, but cauſed him to be taught with the greateſt care all the Accompliſhments proper for an Emperor. He had the beſt Maſters to inſtruct him in Learning, and others to teach him the Exerciſes of Riding and *Arms*. He was uſed to the bearing of heat and Cold, Hunger and Thirſt. She her ſelf

ſelf Tutored him in all the Rules of Decency, and Deportment, in his Habits, in his Geſtures, in his Gate and Poſture of walking: She brake his practice of falling into loud and ſuddain fits of Laughter; taught him how to appear (as occaſion might require) either Terrible or Pleaſant, and to hearken with Patience to the matter before him. He was a perfect Maſter of his Paſſion, obliging humane and tender to a Degree of Compaſſion.

Such was *Theodoſius* the younger, tho' born into an Empire in the *Luxurious* Eaſt, and in a very corrupt Age. The Emperor *Marcian*, who after his great ſervices and long experience ſucceeded him in the Throne, diſcovered the ſame Piety, and the ſame zeal for Religion; but joined with greater Force and Capacity. There needs no other proof of his Worth than the choice St. *Pulcheria* made of him, who Married him only to let him into a Partnerſhip with her in the Empire, but upon Condition of keeping her Vow of Virginity.

XXXVIII. The Manners of the Clergy.

WHILE the Princes lived at this rate, one may eaſily imagin how eminently holy the Lives of the Biſhops and their Clergy were. Yet in the outward Manner of their living, the Liberty of the Church produced ſome change, which may deſerve our Conſideration: 'Twas now they began

V. Thom. Diſc. p. ii. l. i. c. 20, &c.

to wear ſome Exteriour Badges of their profeſſion: Though to ſpeak the Truth, the difference of Habit was ſcarce perceivable till after the Reign of the Barbarous Princes under whom the Clergy ſtill kept to the Habit of the *Romans*, as they did to their Laws and Language.

Many embraced the way of Living in common, as being the more perfect Life; and taken from the firſt Church of *Jeruſalem*: Theſe as far as poſſibly they could contrive it, Lodged all in the ſame Houſe and eat in the ſame Hall; At leaſt they held nothing in Propriety, ſubſiſting only on what the Church ſupplied them with; ſo that they made one large Family, of which the Biſhop was the Father: Such were the Clergy under St. *Euſebius Vercellenſis* under St. *Martin*, and St. *Auſtin*; and theſe were called Canonical Clerks or Canons, by way of diſtinction from thoſe who did not live up ſo ſtrictly to the Letter of the Canons, whoſe ſervice the Church nevertheleſs accepted of.

V. Thom. Diſc. p. i. *l.* i. *c.* 56. *& p.* ii. *l.* i. *c.* 46. *& p.* iii. *l. c.* 28. *&* 51.

They who were not thus embodied, lived at leaſt two or three of them together. The Prieſts who were confin'd to Churches in the Country, had with them ſome young Clerks whom they directed in their Studies, whoſe Manners they formed, and whom they kept always by them as Witneſſes of their own Converſation

tion. Such were those young Readers who suffered Martyrdom in *Africa* by the *Vandals*. The Bishop had also some Priest or Deacon who never stired from him, but lay always in the same Chamber with him: And this was he whom the *Greeks* called the *Syncellus*, which afterwards became an high Dignity. The Pope St. *Gregory* had none but Clerks or Monks in his Palace, and this Custom is still observ'd in the Court of *Rome*, where the Domestick Officers of the Pope are all in Holy *Orders*. *Martyrol. Jul.* iii.

But whether the Ecclesiasticks lived in Common or separate, they were not allow'd to have Women lodging in the same Houses with them. Among the Accusations against *Paulus Samosatenus*, this was one, that he kept in the House with him two young handsome Women whom he carried about with him where ever he went: And that he also permitted his Priests and Deacons to entertain that sort of Women whom they called *Subintroductæ*. This was an abuse grown common when the Church was unpersecuted; against which there are extant many Treatises of the Fathers and Regulations of the Councils. It was first Introduced upon the pretence of Charity: For these Persons who lived in this manner with the Clerks were Virgins Consecrated to God, or such others that made a particular pro- *Conc. Antioch.* ii. *an.* 270. *Euseb.* vii. *Hist. c.* 10. *Subintroductæ. Agapetæ.*

feſſion of Devotion; to whom the Clergy pretended to be inſtead of Fathers or Brothers, managing their Affairs, and doing for them thoſe ſervices which they could not decently do themſelves, eſpecially in places where Women rarely appeared in Publick. And theſe devout Women on their ſide, performed for their Brothers all thoſe Domeſtick Offices which were conſiſtent with the Honour of their Profeſſion: For notwithſtanding their Inhabiting together, they pretended nevertheleſs to keep their Vow of Continence; and St. *Chryſoſtom* encountring this abuſe, ſuppoſes that they effectually did ſo. He accuſes them only of being pleaſed in ſeeing and diſcourſing with each other, That the Pleaſure of Converſation was more affecting between Perſons of different Sex, that by this means they were carried on to Scandal and Indecency, and raſhly expoſed themſelves to the danger of a Crime. To rectify this diſorder, the unmarried Clerks were abſolutely forbidden all habitation with Women that were Strangers; that is to ſay, all that were not very nearly Related to them; which the Council of *Nice* reſtrained to Siſters, Mothers, and Aunts. And beſides the point of Cohabitation, it was not thought convenient that Eccleſiaſticks ſhould have much Converſation with Women, though under the pre-

In eos qui tenent ſubintr.

V. Thom. p. i. l. i. c. 49. n. ix.
V. Mend. in Conc. Elib. c. 27.
Conc. Nic. cap. iii.
Sev. Sulp. in vita S. Martin.
Hier. on ep. ad Nepot.

pretence of Piety; or that they should receive from them their little presents of Habits, Ornaments, Fruits or other such like Refreshments, serving rather for Delight than use, which had any appearance of Voluptuousness and Decency.

But upon the main, the Sanctity of the Ecclesiasticks was as yet very great; and though there were always among them Persons who had their weakness, and their Passions, the generality of them led Lives extreamly Virtuous and Exemplary. The World likewise did them Justice, and they were much respected. Though the Bishops made no great figure in the World as to Temporal Authority, and though they lived in a plain way as private Persons, without any thing of Worldly Pomp or outside shew of Grandeur; yet they were highly honoured, not only by the People, but also by the Magistrates, and even by the Princes themselves. I have before taken notice of the Honours which *Constantine* paid to the Fathers Assembled in Council at *Nice*. The Emperor *Maximus* made St. *Martin* with one of his Priests eat at the same Table with him, and the Empress his Wife served them with her own Hands.

As the Custom of the *Romans* then was to give to all Persons in place, different Ti-

V. Paneir. in Not. Imp.

**Illuſtrious Glorious, Renowned, moſt Eminent.*

Titles, as of **Illuſtris, Glorioſus, ſpectabilis, Clariſſimus*, which were ſtated Appellations according to the Rank and Dignity of the Perſons to whom they were apply'd; ſo they gave to the Biſhops that of Holy or bleſſed, to which they added that of Pious, Religious, belov'd of God, and ſuch like. Theſe Titles were ſo Appropriated to Biſhops, that they were not omitted even in the Proceſſes made againſt them; as in thoſe againſt *Neſtorius* in the Council of *Epheſus*, and againſt *Dioſcorus* in the Council of *Calcedon*. They were given to *Heretical* Biſhops; and in the Conference at *Carthage*, St. *Auſtin* makes no ſcruple of ſaying, the moſt Holy *Emeritus* and the moſt Holy *Petiliam*, though though they were *Donatiſts*. It had been an affront to them to have denied them theſe Formalities of Reſpect.

V. Bar. Not ad Martyr. x. Jan.

The name of *Papa* or *Pope*, that ſignifies *Father*, which is more eſpecially uſed when one would expreſs the Endearments of that Relation, was of a long time common to all Biſhops of the *Latin* Church, and in the *Greek* Church is ſtill given to all Prieſts: They were treated as Lords, and nothing is more common in the fourth and fifth Ages than ſuch like Superſcriptions as theſe, To the moſt Holy, moſt Pious, and moſt venerable Lord *N.* Biſhop —— It was as I ſhewed before a common prac-

practice for People to prostrate themselves before them, and kiss their Feet: So that 'tis not a thing so much to be wondered at, that these extraordinary Honours should be performed to the Supream Bishop, to whom the faithful have in all Ages paid a singular deference, since the other Bishops treated the Pope as their Father, and he treated them again but as Brethren; as is still done. For the Church of *Rome* hath been of all others the most constant in preserving her ancient usages.

V. epist. Innoc. i. inter epist. August.

The regard which the Temporal Powers had for the Bishops, gave them Authority to take upon them the Protection of Widows, Orphans and all others whose case rendred them Objects of Compassion: Particularly they made use of their Intereſt to beg the Lives of Criminals. Not but that those Holy Persons had a Zeal for Iustice; but they knew there would be always too many left to be made examples of Severity, and they laboured for the Salvation of Souls. Whether the the Condemned had been Christian or not before, the favour procured to them by these hands could not but be a Powerful motive to draw them over both to Repentance and Baptism. And this Delight in shewing Mercy made even the Heathens themselves in Love with the Church.

V. Epist. liv. August. ad Maced.

The

Auguſt. Epiſt 100. 133. 134. 139. *edit. Nov.*

The Church interceded alſo in the behalf of her own Enemies. We have many Epiſtles of St. *Auſtin* where he begs the favour of the Magiſtrate on the behalf of *Donatiſts* convicted of horrid Violences and even of Murders committed on the Catholicks. He pleaded that it would diſhonour the ſufferings of the Murthered to put to Death the Authors of them; and that if they could find no other penalties for them but Death, they would thereby bring things to that paſs that the Church, who delighted not in the Blood of her Adverſaries, would not dare to demand Juſtice againſt them. This was a general Rule, that the Church was never to ſeek the Death of any Man. They were content that Chriſtian Princes ſhould correct or overaw Hereticks by Baniſhment or pecuniary penalties, but they were to ſpare their Lives: And all the Church declared their Abhorrence of the proceeding of the Biſhop *Ithacius* who proſecuted the Arch-Heretick *Priſcillian* to Death. But the Biſhops could not always obtain the Pardon they deſired for theſe ſort of Offenders, no more than they could for others. The Princes to preſerve the publick Peace, Enacted the Penalty of Death againſt Hereticks, and their Laws were ſometimes put in Execution.

Epiſt. 134. *n.* iii. iv.

Auguſt. Epiſt. lxxxxiii. *ad Vincent.*

Sever. Sulp. lib. ii. *Baron. an.* 385.

L. v. *L.* xi. *Cod. de Hæret.*

In

In the midſt of all theſe honours and the high eſteem the Biſhops and Clergy then had, it, was ſtill required of them to obſerve the rule of Poverty. In *Africa* the Clergy how eminent ſoever they might be for their knowledg in the Word of God, were enjoyned to labour with their Hands, to Till the Ground or follow ſome other honeſt Employment, whereby they might (without any prejudice to their Function) get enough for their own Subſiſtence, that is to ſay, a Competency for Food and Rayment. But this one would take to be underſtood rather of the leſſer Clerks than of the Prieſts and Deacons, who were ſuffiiciently employed other ways. Though ſome of them alſo follow'd this Apoſtolical Counſel. But from what Fund ſoever the Clergy were ſupported, they were obliged always to ſhew themſelves examples of a Chriſtian Frugality and Moderation. The Same *Affrican* Canons give it in Direction to the Biſhops, that they ſhould content themſelves with a moderate Table, and Ordinary Furniture. This Rule St. *Auſtin* faithfully obſerved. One may gueſs what was his ordinary way of living, ſince *Poſidius* who hath given us the Hiſtory of his Life, obſerves this particular of him: That beſides Pulſe and Herbs, he would ſometimes, when he had Strangers to entertain

Conc. iv. *Carth.c.*lii.

V.Thomaſs. Diſc. P. I. *l.* 9. *c.* ix.x. xi.

tertain, have ſome Fleſh-meat and Wine brought to his Table. St. *Paulinus* in the ſame Age (he who had quitted ſo vaſt an Eſtate) had his Table ſerved with Earthern Diſhes and Wooden Porringers. Of St. *Martin* tis obſerved, that in viſiting his Dioceſe he commonly Rode upon an Aſs, and was but very meanly Habited. St. *Lupus* of *Troy*, St. *German* of *Auxerne*, St. *Hilary* of *Arles* were admired for their Abſtinences and Faſting. Of St. *Epiphanius* of *Pavia*, 'tis Recorded, that he never uſed the Bath, Eat no Supper, and lived only on Herbs and Pulſe. In the Eaſt St. *Baſil* Eat only Bread with a little Salt, Drank nothing but Water, and never wore above one Coat. St. *Gregory Nazianzen* lived much after the ſame manner. The Enemies of St. *Chryſoſtom* grounded one part of their Calumnies againſt him, that he Eat by himſelf and lived very Reſerved. And he himſelf Cenſures a certain Biſhop for wearing Silks; riding on Horſeback, and being attended with a large Retinue of Servants; and that though he had a convenient Habitation, he could not yet forbear Building. Which were almoſt the ſame Accuſations with thoſe that had been laid againſt *Paulus Samaſotenus* in the Age before. He was charged with living Voluptuouſly, Eating to Exceſs, being too richly

Paul. ep. i. in fi.

Sulpit. de vita S. Mart.

Hom. 9. in Epiſt. ad Philem.

Conc. Antioch. ii. an 270.

richly habited, and that he was attended, as he paſſed about the City, with a numerous Train; more reſembing the Pomp of a Magiſtrate than the Plaineſs of a Biſhop: And yet he was Biſhop of *Antioch*; the Capital of the Eaſt, and the third City in the World. They were ſo Accuſtomed to ſee their Biſhops Modeſt and Humble, that Malicious and Indiſcreet People from thence took occaſion to paſs harſh Cenſures upon ſuch as were not altogether ſo reſerved. St. *Chryſoſtom* complaines of too hard meaſure the Biſhops met with upon this account. *There are ſome, ſaith he, that think much a Biſhop ſhould go to the Bath, that he ſhould Eat or Dreſs as other Men do, that he ſhould have a Servant to Wait on him or a Mule to Ride upon.* So *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who was a Heathen and ſtrangly devoted to the Old Superſtitions of the Pagan Religion, forbears not to expoſe and aggravate the viſible difference there was at the end of the fourth Age in the manner of their Living, between the Pope of *Rome* and the Provincial Biſhops. As if it were ſo ſtrange a thing and ſo much to be wondred at, that the Biſhop of the Capital City of the World ſhould have his *Coach* to carry him from one Quarter to another of ſo large a City, that he ſhould go well Habited, and keep a good Table, to entertain

Hom. ii. *ep. ad Tit. in fi.*

Amm. Marc. lib. 27.

Voiture

tertain the greateſt Perſons of the Empire. 'Tis certain however there were at the ſame time in the Provinces, Biſhops who by the Frugallity of their Tables, the Poverty of their Habits, and Modeſty of their Looks rendred themſelves amiable both in the ſight of God and Man. And thus much doth this Heathen Author himſelf own and declare of them; and that there were the like examples in the great Citys, is plain by the Inſtances I have given beſides many more that might have been added.

XXXIX. The Riches of the Church.

THAT which makes this moderation of the Biſhops yet more remarkable, is the vaſt Riches of the Church, which immediately followed the ceaſing of the Perſecutions. One would hardly believe what I ſhall ſay on this Head, though the thing its ſelf be never ſo certain and well atteſted. All the Lives of the Popes from St. *Silzveſter* and the beginning of the fourth Age to the end of the Ninth are full of Preſents made to the Churches of *Rome* by the Popes, by the Emperors and by ſome Private Perſons. And theſe were not only guifts of Gold and Silver Plate, but Houſes in *Rome*, and Lands in the Country; and that not only in *Italy*, but in divers Provinces of the Empire. I ſhall relate no more than what was offered by

by *Constantine* as *Anastasius* reports it from the Ancient Memoires that remained to his time.

He tells us that the Emperor built and oarnamented many Churches, as first the *Constantinian* (the same with the *Lateran*) where he bestowed these gifts; *viz*: A Silver Tabernacle of two thousand twenty five pound Weight, having in the front of it our Saviour seated in a Chair, five foot in Heigth, weighing one hundred and twenty pound; and the twelve Apostles each of them five foot high, and weighing fourscore pound a peice, with Crowns of the pureſt Silver. On the back side was another Image of our Saviour five foot high weighing an hundred and forty pound, and four Silver Angels of five foot each, and an hundred and fifteen pound weight, set with with precious Stones. He gave also four Crowns of the pureſt Gold, that is circles with Candlesticks in them, ornamented with twenty Dolphins of fifteen pound each. Seven Altars of Silver of two hundred pound weight, seven Patins of Gold of thirty pound each, forty Calices of Gold of one pound each, five hundred Calices of Silver of two pound each: one hundred sixty Silver Candlestick, forty of which weighed each of them thirty pounds, the rest twenty pound apiece;

And many other Veſſels. In the *Baptiſtery* the Ciſtern or Font was of *Porphyry*, overlaid with Silver to the weight of three thouſand and eight pounds. In it was placed a Golden Lamp of thirty pound weight, in which were burning at once two hundred pounds of ſweet Oyl; a Golden Lamb of thirty pound weight pouring out the Water; the Image of our Saviour of the pureſt Silver, five foot high, and of an hundred ſixty two pound weight, and on his left Hand a St. *John Baptiſt* in Silver of an hundred pound weight, and ſeven Silver Harts caſting forth with Water, each of eight hundred pound, ſet with two and forty rich Stones. All that he gave to the Church and to the *Baptiſtery* amounted to ſix hundred ſeventy eight pound weight of Gold, nineteen thouſand ſix hundred ſeventy three of Silver: And there going but twelve ounces to the *Roman* pound, the whole amounts to one thouſand and ſeventeen Marks of Gold, and twenty nine thouſand five hundred Marks of Silver, which comes to about twelve hundred thouſand Livers, beſides the Make or faſhion; counting the Mark of Gold at three hundred Livers, and the Mark of Silver at thirty Livers. Beſides all this *Conſtantine* gave to the ſame Church and *Baptiſtery* in Houſes and Lands to the Yearly value of thirteen thou-

thousand nine hundred thirty four Sols of Gold which comes to more than fourscore thousand Livers *per. annum*. Counting the Golden Sol but at six Livers. And all this was given to that one Church, the Lateran.

He built seven others also at *Rome*, that of St. *Peter*, St. *Paul*, the Holy Cross of *Jerusalem*, St. *Agnes*, S. *Laurence*, St. *Peter* and St. *Marcellinus*. He made also great presents to that of St. *Silvester's* founding. He caused to be built also one Church at *Ostium*, another at *Albanum*, another at *Capua*, and another at *Naples* What he gave to all the Churches in Gold and Silver Plate amounted to one thousand three hundred fifty nine Marks, and four ounces of Gold and twelve thousand four hundred thirty seven Marks of Silver, which comes to near upon seven Hundred Fourscore Thousand Livers besides the Make, The Yearly Revenues, with which he endowed them amounted to seventeen thousand seven hundred and seven Solls of Gold, that is, to more than an hundred thousand Livers, and to the value of above twenty thousand Livers in divers sorts of Perfumes which the Lands in *Egypt* were obliged to furnish in Specie, and that counting them, but according to the price they now bear, which is incomparably less

than what it was then. The Church of St. *Peter*, at *Rome* for example, had Houſes in *Antioch* and the adjacent Country, it had Eſtates belonging to it at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, at *Alexandria* and throughout all *Egypt*; nay, it had them lying as far diſtant as in the Province of *Euphrates*, and part of the Lands ſtood charged to ſupply the Church with a certain quantity of the Oyl of Nard, Balm, Storax, ſweet Cane, Saffron, and other precious Drugs for the uſe of the Cenſers and Lamps.

V. Euſeb. de vita Conſt. lib. iii. *c.* 34. 35, *&c. c.* 50. *lib.* iv. *c.* 58, 59. To theſe we may add the Churches that *Conſtantine* and St. *Helena* his Mother cauſed to be built at *Jeruſalem*, at *Bethlehem*, and over all the *Holy-Land*. That of the twelve Apoſtles, and the others which he founded at *Conſtantinople*; for he was the Founder of all the Churches there; that at *Nicomedia*, that at *Antioch* which was proportionable to the Grandeur of the City: To theſe we may ſubjoin the Liberalities he beſtowed on the Churches throughout the Empire. We may add further the Donations of the following Emperors, the Gifts of the Governours of Provinces, and of all the other great Lords who became Chriſtians; the Benefactions of thoſe Religious Matrons who quitted great Eſtates to embrace Chriſtian Poverty, as St. *Paula* at *Rome*,

ibid. iv. 28.

and

and St. *Melania*; St. *Olympias* at *Constantinople*, and many others; to these in the last place we may reckon the Gifts of the Bishops, between whom there was a Pious Emulation of exceeding each other in adorning and enriching their Churches. After all this one may judge how rich the Churches of the Capital Cities were in those large Provinces which we now count for great Kingdoms: Thus we may see that the Church of *Alexandria* was Prodigiously rich in the time of St. *John* the Almoner, by the account we have of his Pious management of those vast Revenues and the large Charities he bestowed out of them. We may see in St. *Gregories* Epistles what pains and trouble the Patrimonies of the Church of *Rome* gave him, dispersed abroad in so many Countries, in *Sicily*, in *Spain*, in *France*; the care he took that the Slaves who were employed in the Tillage of them should be well used, and the Revenues applied to the Relief of the Poor of the Countries where they lay. Nothing of all this will appear incredible to any one that is the least acquainted with the Grandeur and Wealth of the *Roman* Empire, where it was a common thing for private Persons to Bequeath to their Friends whole Towns Inhabitants and all; besides, there were great Estates Appropriated to the Worship and Or-

Vita Greg. per Jo. Diac. lib. ii. c. 55, &c.

F. de instr. & instrum leg.

namenting of the Idols. There were great ſums yearly expended upon their Sacrifices, Plays and other Ceremonies of the falſe Religion. It was eaſy for a Chriſtian Government to enrich the Church with what uſed to be flung away upon theſe Vanities. But one of the grand Funds out of which the Churches were endowed, were the Chriſtians Eſtates which had been Confiſcated during the Perſecution,

Euſeb. vita Conſt. ii. *c.* 35, *&c.*

Con. Antioch an. 341 *can. ult.*

These Goods and great Eſtates belonging to the Church, were entirely at the diſpoſal of the Biſhops: But the holy Prelates of thoſe times were ſo far from being over pleaſed with their Poſſeſſions, that they complained of them, and would have been glad to have ſeen thoſe Days again in which the Church ſtood in need of no more than the daily Offerings of the Faithful, for the ſupporting of their Poor, their Clergy, and for all the other occaſions of the Church. St. *Auſtin* frequently offered to reſtore his Church-lands, but his People would not accept of them. St. *John Chryſoſtom* upbraids the Chriſtians of his Time, that they had by their Covetouſneſs and hard Heartedneſs forced the Biſhops to procure ſettled Revenues to their Churches, leaſt their Virgins, Widows and other Poor ſhould Periſh for want, if (as in the Primitive times) they had

Thom. Diſ. part i. *l.* iii. *c.* xi.

had nothing else to depend upon but casual Alms: *From hence* (saith he) *come two inconveniencys; You your selves live unprofitably, and the Priests of God are busied in concerns Foreign to their Function.* And a little after. *You make Stewards, Farmers and Overseers of your Bishops; and instead of minding nothing but the saving of your Souls, they are every Day disturbed with what ought to be the business of Receivers and Treasurers:* And again, *Your uncharitableness makes us Ridiculous, for we are obliged to leave our Prayers, instructing the People and other Parts of our Holy Employment, to be always treating with Vintners, Corn Marchants and those who sell other Provisions. So that People have given us names which are fitter for Men of a Secular Character.* Yet they found out ways to disengage themselves from the trouble of managing their temporal Affairs. They entrusted the care of them at first with Arch-deacons, and afterwards with Stewards appointed for that very purpose. And to ease themselves even in the works of Charity its self, they procured of their Princes to have establish'd in every City a defender of the Church and the Poor, whose Office it was to protect the Church, and sollicit for the Poor,

Chrysost. in Mat. xxvii. 10. hom. 85.

Conc. Carthag.

XL. Hospitals.

A CONSIDERABLE part of the Goods of the Church was employ'd in the founding and maintaining of Hospitals: For now it was they began. The Government of the *Greeks* and *Romans* went a great way in making Laws against Idleness, and keeping their Countries clear of sturdy Beggars and Vagrants; but we find no pulick Provision for such poor Creatures as were able to do nothing: They thought it was better for them to dye than live unprofitably and wretched; and that if they had any thing of Spirit or Courage in them, they would fairly dispatch themselves. The Christians aiming principally at the saving Peoples Souls, neglected none of them; and those who were most abandoned by others, they thought best deserving of their Care. They provided not only for their own Poor, but even for those also of the Heathen. This *Julian* the Apostate testifies of them, (not without shame) commanding Hospitals to be erected, and Contributions raised for the maintenance of the Poor, after the manner of the Christians. There were two ways of relieving the Poor, the one by distributing Alms among them, leaving it unto themselves to shift for their Lodgings. To this purpose there was in every quarter of *Rome* a place called the *Diaconium*, which was a sort of

Julian. ep. ult. Asacio.

Baron. ad Martyrol. viii. Aug.

of Office for the management of these Alms. A Deacon always resided there, and received from time to time a certain sum of Money to be faithfully distributed by him amongst the Poor, for which he was accountable. The other way of relieving the Poor, and that far better too, was both to lodge and to feed them together in Common: For this purpose as soon as the Church had its Liberty, there were several Houses of Charity built, all which we call by the common name of Hospitals, but in *Greek* they had different Appellations according to the different Qualities of the Poor for whom they were appointed. *Greg.* ix. *epist.* 24.

The House for Infants exposed, or otherwise wanting that Relief, was called the *Brephotrophium*; that of *Orphans*, *Orphanotrophium*, the *Nosocomium* was an Hospital for the Sick; *Xenodochium* Logings for Strangers or Passengers: And this is that which in *Latin* is properly called Hospital, an House of Entertainment for Strangers. The *Gerontocomium* was a retreat for Aged Persons. *Ptochotrophium* was common to all sorts of Poor: But there were also such Houses of Charity before they had these names given them; There were many of them quickly erected in all great Cities. It was ordinarily some Priest that had the Overseeing of them. *V. l.* 19. *l.* 21. *Cod. de Sacros. Eccl.* *Aug. in Jo. tract.* 97.

As

As at *Alexandria* St. *Iſidorus* under the Patriarch *Theophilus*. At *Conſtantinople* St. *Zoticus*, and after him St. *Sampſon*: There were alſo ſome private Perſons who erected Hoſpitals at their own Expences, as St. *Pammachius* at *Porto*, and St. *Gallicanus* at *Oſtia*. This St. *Gallicanus* was a *Patrician*, and had been Conſul; and 'twas a ſight that drew Spectators from all parts to ſee a Perſon of his Rank and Quality, one that had worn the Triumphal Ornaments, and could have boaſted of his Friendſhip with the Emperor *Conſtantine*, to ſee I ſay ſuch a Perſon waſhing the Feet and the Hands of the Poor, waiting upon them at Table and giving the Sick all ſort of aſſiſtance. The holy Biſhops thought no expences too great that were beſtowed upon ſo good purpoſes: Beſides, they took great care about the Burial of their Poor, and the Redemption of Captives who had been taken by the Barbarians, as it often happened in the Declenſion of the *Roman* Empire: For theſe two laſt ſorts of Charity they ſold, even the communion Plate, notwithſtanding the Priviledge of Appropria-

Baron. ad 31. Dec. & 27. Jun.

Martyr. 25 Jun.

Baron. ad [illegible] Martyr. [illegible]

The inſtance of St. *Exuperius* Biſhop of *Tholoſe* is very remarkable, who reduced himſelf upon this ſcore to ſuch a degree of Poverty, that he carried the Body of our Saviour in a little Basket, and his Blood in a Calice of Glaſs. And St.

Pau-

Paulinus Bishop of *Nola* having sold all, made himself a Slave to ransom the Son of a certain Widow; so that those vast Treasures of the Churches, the Gold and Silver with which they were Ornamented, were deposited in the nature of a Trust till pressing Occasions, as a publick Calamity, a Petilence, a Famine, or the like, should require it; every thing gave place to the providing for the living Temples of the Holy Ghost. They redeemed also such as lived in Slavery at home, or within the Empire, especially such as were Christian Slaves to Pagan or *Jewish* Masters. *Gregor.* iii. *Dialog. c.* i. ii. *Jo. Diac. vita S. Greg. lib.* iv. *cap.* xliii.

XLI. Monasteries.

IN the last place, it was after the Church had gained its Liberty, that they began to found Monasteries, Under the Persecutions many Christians had retired into the Deserts: Principally those adjoyning to *Ægypt*; and some passed the remainder of their Lives in them, as St. *Paul*, who is reckoned the first Hermit. St. *Anthony* having for some time lead the Ascetique life near the place of his Nativity, withdrew himself afterward into the Desert, that he might with greater freedom and security pursue his religious Exercises, upon being removed out of the Reach of all Temptations which might be occasioned by Society. He was *Hier. vita S. Pauli.*

the

the first that gathered Disciples together in the Wilderness, and there obliged them to live in common. They were now no longer called simply Ascetick, though in effect they led the same Life; but went by the name of Monks, that is to say, Solitaries, or Hermits; to wit, those that inhabit the Wilderness. Those who lived together were termed *Cænobites*; and those who having lived a long time in common and there learn't to conquer their Passions, and afterwards retired to a more absolute Solitude they called *Anchoretes*. And yet the *Cænobites* themselves lived very Solitary, seeing no Soul but their own Fraternity; being at the distance of many Days Journy from all inhabited Places, in sandy Deserts, whither they were forced to carry all necessaries, even their very Water. Nor did they so much as see one another save only in the evening and in the Night at their stated hours of Prayer, spending all the Day at work in their Cells either alone, or two and two together, and always in profound Silence. Besides, as in those vast Solitudes, they were not streightned for want of Room, so their Cells stood at a considerable distance one from another.

St. *Anthony*, St. *Hilarian*, St. *Pacomius*, and the others that followed their Ex-

Examples did not pretend to introduce Novelties or outdoe all that ever went before them. Their design was only to keep up the exact practise of the Christian Religion which they saw every Day more and more declining. They always proposed the *Asceticks* that went before them for their Examples. As in *Ægypt*, those Disciples of St. *Mark*, who (as *Cassian* relates) lived in the Suburbs of *Alexandria*, close shut up in their Houses, Spending all their time in Praying and Meditating upon the Holy Scriptures; labouring with their Hands all Day and never eating but at Night. They proposed for their imitation the Primitive Church of *Jerusalem*, the Apostles themselves and the Prophets. Twas not an Affectation to make themselves admired for the extraordinariness of their Methods, but an honest intention of leading the lives of good Christians. This one may see through the whole Rule of St. *Basil*, which is indeed no more than an Abridgement of the Duties of a Christian who would lead his Life according to the Precepts of the Gospel, and which he lays down in general to all sorts of Persons. He saith, for example, as to Habits, that a Christian ought to content himself with such Cloathing as is sufficient for Decency, and to defend the Body against Cold and the

Cass. ii. *Inst.* v. 18. *Coll.* v.

Hier. ad Paulin. item ad Rustic.

S. Basil reg. fus. n. XXII.

the other injuries of the Air; but to be as little incumbred as possible: And therefore to be content with one Garment both for Day and Night, a thing in the Country where he lived not impracticable. There is very little in his Rule which is perculiar to Monks separate from the rest of the World.

That which was singular in the Monks was their Renouncing of Marriage, and the Possession of Temporal goods, and their Separating themselves from conversation with the rest of the World, either of the Faithful themselves or their neareſt Relations. As to the rest they acted but the part of good Laicks living by their Labours, in silence, and exercising themselves in getting the Mastery over their Passions by degrees: So that having, as St. *Paul* expresses it, like resolute Combatants *Striven for the Mastery*, and Striven *Lawfully*, they might arrive to that Purity of Heart which might render them fit to see God. Upon these Principles were all their Methods and Practises founded. St. *Chrysostom* gives us a Memorable History of a Young Man, whose Mother was desirous that he should become a good Christian, and prevailed with a Vertuous Monk to take him into his Tuition. This Holy Man to Instruct him more perfectly in the Duties of Religion, causes

Chrysost. ad fidel. patr.

Cass. Instit. v. c. 12. 16. &c. & 6. c. 7.

1. Cor. ix. 25. 2 Tim. ii. 5. Ἐν νόμως. Matth. v. viii.

Ad fidel. patr.

causes him to practise in Private all the exercises of the Monastick Life, without making any open Shew or Profession of it, and still leading in appearance the common Life. Their continued course of Fastings tended in the first place to subdue the Sin of Gluttony; and then to prevent the Temptations of Impurity, to render the Soul more free and Serene, and in a proper condition to apply herself to Spiritual things. However they used discretion in the matter, and took care to keep the Body in sufficient Plight to bear up with their continual Labours and short Sleeps, without prejudicing their Health; so that they lived to a very great Age without any Sickness or Diseases. In the Lives of the Fathers we meet with a great number of these Monks that lived to fourscore or fourscore and ten Years; some to an hundred, and others more. These examples we chiefly meet with among the *Ægyptan* Monks, who were the most admired for their Wisdome; and who, after mature Deliberations upon long Experience, came to this conclusion, that the Dyet of the Monks should be limited to the eating of only two little Loaves a Day of six ounces a piece, and that not till after three a Clock, and to the drinking of nothing but Water. Solitude they used as a remedy against the In-

Cass. Institut. lib. v.

Idem. Coll. ii. c. 1. 7. &c.

Cass. Coll. ii. cap. xix.

Incitements of Impurity and Avarice, endeavouring as much as was possible to loose the very Remembrance of objects that might excite such Temptations. They also conquered Avarice by their extream Poverty and by sticking close to their Rule of having nothing of their own and of distributing to the Poor out of the gains of every Days Labour, all that remained over and above their own Subsistence. And so considerable were these Alms (as St. *Austin* reports) that they Fraighted whole Vessels with them. Lastly, they combated the passion of Anger by their Silence, and by keeping such Company as obliged them to bear with one another; sloth they encountered by continuall Labours; Sadness, by Prayer and singing of Psalms; Pride and Vanity, by the practise of an absolute Obedience and severe Mortification.

De Mor. Eccl. i. c. lxvii.

V. Chrysost. Hom. lxxii. *in Matth.*

There were also some Monks that wrought in Husbandry, and for hire in the Harvest and Vintages, promiscuously with other Labourers: But the more perfect of them found their Thoughts too much scattered by these Employments, and shut themselves up in their Cells making Rush-Mats, Wicker Baskets, and such like things, which did not take them off from Meditating upon the Scriptures, and keeping their Souls always intent upon God.

Cass. Collat. xxiv. *de Mortific. c.* iii. iv, &c.

There

There were none of them without some Business or other, and the least was Transcribing Books: However the greatest Part of them did not give themselves to Study, and many of them could not so much as Read. This way of living being so poor, so laborious and mean to outward appearance brought them under the contempt of Libertines, and even of some Christians themselves. They made lewd Jests of them; they sometimes proceeded to violence, even so far as to strike the Monks, to drag them out of their Cells, and hawl them before the Magistrates: But all this served only to make their Humility and Patience more remarkable. They were so much loved and respected by all understanding People, and not only by the Vulgar, but even by Persons of Quality; nor by the Laity only, but also by the Priests and Bishops themselves; that those of the greatest Sanctity and Capacity among them were often thought fit to be advanced to some Publick Ministry in the Church, or even to the Episcopal Dignity. Then they quitted their Monastry and returned to the Commerce of the World; living the same Life with the rest of the Clergy. We see nothing of solemn Vows in these first times. St. *Chrysostom* speaks of a Monk's returning to the World as a thing of Freedom: He advises a Father to

Chrysos. advers. vitup.

V. Cass. xviii. Collat. 21. ad fidel. patr.

engage his Son in this Holy manner of Life, as ſoon as he ſhould come to be in a ſtate of Sinning, at about ten Years of Age, and to let him continue in it for the Space of Ten or twenty Years, till he was perfected and eſtabliſhed in goodneſs. He himſelf quitted the Monaſtick Life at the end of five Years, for the recovery of his Health. But one may ſee by the Reprimand he gives his Friend *Theodorus*, how much thoſe were to blame, who through lightneſs, diſguſt, or any other unwarantable motive took leave of their vertue and a Monaſtick Life together. The Church put them under Pennance, but as for Civil Puniſhments they had none but the diſgrace of their Inconſtancy.

V. Chryſoſt. hom. in ep. ad Timoth. Auguſt. de Mor. Eccl. l. c. lxvii. Hier. præf. in reg. S. Pacom. & epiſt. ad Euſtoch.

The Sanctity of the Monaſtick Life appeared with ſuch a Luſtre, that within a ſhort time there ſpread all over the Eaſt many thouſands of Monks and Monaſteries. The Rule of St. *Pacomus* alone had under it fifty thouſand Monks, diſtributed into ſeveral Houſes under the Government of one Abbot, who all met together at *Eaſter* to Celebrate the Chriſtian Paſsover. The Founding of theſe kind of Monaſteries met with no difficulty; they had neither Lands nor Poſſeſſions to make them envy'd: There wanted neither Permiſſion, nor Aſſiſtance to thoſe that had a mind to forſake all and retire into unin-

Chryſoſt. ad fid. patr.

ha-

habited places, and build themselves little Wooden Cells there, or of Reeds, or what the place afforded; to confine themselves to Silence and Labour, and so to live not only not burdensome to any, but to be very serviceable also to the publick, by those good Works and Charities before mentioned. These Monasteries did in time so multiply, and spread themselves, that there were of them also in inhabited places, and in the Neighbourhood of great Gities. Thus it was not thought reasonable that in plentiful Countries, as *Italy*, *Sicily* and *Greece*, they should be debarr'd the Privilege. But in what publick places soeve they were, the Monks still kept to their solitary way, confined themselves to their Cloysters, and punctually observed their Rule of Silence. *Act. Conc. v. can. 53.*

When they were near enough to the Cities, they came to the publick Church to hear the Instructions of the Bishop, and to participate of the Holy Mysteries. They had their place allotted them separate from the rest of the Congregation, as the Virgins and the Widows had theirs: But this hindred them not to have in their own Houses Oratories, where at the stated Hours they all met together and Prayed in common. They that lived farther from Towns, had among them Priests to perform Divine Service and Administer the *Ambros. ad virg. laps. c. vi.*

Sacraments; and at laſt it was found convenient that every Monaſtery ſhould have in it one Prieſt at leaſt, and one or two Deacons; and this Prieſt was often their Abbot. Thus having no occaſion to go abroad, they were ſhut up in their Monaſteries as the Dead in their Sepulchres: This was the pretence that Arch-Heretick *Eutiches* made for his not appearing at the Council of *Chalcedon*.

Con. Chalc. Act.

+ There were alſo Monaſteries for Women, or Nunneries in the Deſerts, where they abode within Convenient diſtance of the Monks to receive mutual aſſiſtance from each other by their Neighbourhood, & yet ſo far aſunder as to avoid all danger and + Scandal. The Monks built the Nuns their Cells, and helped them in their moſt laborious Works; the Nuns made the Monks Cloaths, and did them other ſuch-like Services. But all this Commerce of Charity was managed by ſome aged Perſons appointed for that purpoſe; none elſe being ſuffered to go near the Nunneries. There were alſo many of theſe Nunneries founded in Cities, where all the Virgins Conſecrated to God, lived in Community, who before lived ſeparate in private Houſes. The Nuns of *Ægypt* and *Syria* cut off their Hair for cleanlineſs ſake; in other places they kept it on: The practice of Antiquity in theſe Caſes being different.

Hier. epiſt. 48. ad Sabinian. Baron. ad Martyr. 20 Sept.

The

The Biſhops who made their Clergy live in common, took their Method of living from the Monks; and as much as the active Life of the Clergy would permit, they conformed themſelves to it, ſo that theſe Communities were often called alſo by the name of Monaſteries, and in time they were quite confounded one with the other. In the Fifth Age the greateſt part of the Biſhops and Prieſts of *Gaul*, and of the Weſt, practiced the Monaſtick Life and wore the Habit. The Pope St. *Gregory* was taken out of a Monaſtery, where upon quitting the grandeur of this World he had ſhut himelf up; but notwithſtanding his Advancement, he ſtill kept to the Monaſtick Life, and filled his Palace with Pious Monks, out of whom he made many of his great Biſhops, and among the reſt St. *Auſtin* the Monk, with the other Apoſtles of *England*.

Thom. Diſc. ii. part. l. i. c. 34, 35, 36.

Jo. Diac. lib. ii. c. xi.

The true uſe of the Monaſtick Life was to improve and perfect ſuch unſpotted Souls as had preſerved the Innocence of their Baptiſm; or ſuch Converted Sinners as deſired to Purify themſelves by Repentance. 'Twas for this end they received into their Monaſteries Perſons of all Ages and Conditions: Young Children, whom their Parents were for placing early out of the danger of the World; Old Perſons, who deſired to end their

Lives Religiouſly; Marryed Men, whoſe Wives alſo had conſented to the ſame way of Living. In the Rule of St. *Fructuoſus* Arch-Biſhop of *Braga*, we find Regulations for all theſe Perſons. They who for their Sins were obliged by the Canons to do Penances of many Years, found it undoubtedly much more Commodious to paſs them in a Monaſtery, where the example of Living in Common, and the Conſolations received from thoſe more advanced in Years, might ſomewhat eaſe their Sorrows; than to Live at large under them in the wide World, where they could not avoid being ſingular and Pointed at. So that the Monaſtery became a kind of Priſon or Exile, with which great Perſons were often puniſhed; of which we have examples in *France* under the two firſt Lines of our Kings, and in the Eaſt from the ſixth Age.

Cod. Regul.

XLII. The Monaſtick life compared with that of the firſt Chriſtians.

THE Monaſtick Life is a ſenſible proof of the Providence of God, and of the care he hath taken to preſerve in his Church to the end of all Ages, not only purity of Doctrine, but alſo Holineſs of Life. If we call to mind what hath been ſaid of the Chriſtian Life in the ſecond part of this Treatiſe, and compare it with the Rule of St. *Bennet*, and with the preſent uſages of the well-regulated Monaſte-

nasteries, we shall find that there is but little difference between them.

I have prov'd there that those Christians looked upon Religion as their main Concern, making all the Affairs of this Life subservient to it: And thus it is with the Monks who sequester themselves from the world that they may be at more liberty to mind the most necessary Poynt. And for this Reason they are called *The Religious*, a name common at first to all good Christians. The Monks, Asceticks and Virgins had also the name of *Devotes* given them, from their being entirely Devoted to God.

Those first Christians were very frequent both in Publick and private Prayer, coming as near as possibly they could to the Rule of *Praying always*: the Psalmody is no-where better Regulated, nor more exactly observed than in the Monasteries, where it still continues the same as St. *Benet* set it above eleven hundred Years ago. The Monks having nothing to divert them from the exercises of Religion, have kept up the Practice more exactly than even the Clergy themselves. 'Tis supposed they reduced the Office into the form, in which it hath stood now for a long time; at least they added the *Prime* and *Complin*, which at first were only private Prayers for every Christian

3 *Instit.* iv. vi. Family, or every Monastery to make use of at their own Houses, to sanctifie the beginning and ending of the Day. *Cassian* declares that this Establishment was but new in his Days. In all this the Canons are to be esteemed as a sort of Monks; and so indeed in the beginning they were, being then all of them Regulars. The Primitive Christians received the Communion very often; so do the Monks for the most part. *Ruffinus* tells us the Disciples of St. *Apollonius* Communicated every Day. The Monks kept up for a long time the Ancient custom of having the Eucharist always lying by them to Communicate themselves, when they should want a Priest to Administer it. 'Twas perhaps for want of this Precaution, that some continued for the space of two whole Years without receiving the Sacrament.

S. Basil. ep. 289, *ad Cæsar. Patr.*

Chrysost. Hom. xvii. *in Epist. ad Hebr.*

Those Primitive Christians spent much of their time in Reading the Holy Scriptures: The Rule of St. *Benet* prescribes the same to his Monks, and more particularly that all the time of Lent, and on all Sundays, they should apply themselves wholly to this Exercise. For on other Days, they spent much of their time in the labour of their Hands, of which Practice some traces are still remaining; though

Reg. S. Ben. c. xlviii.

it

it must be confessed, that of all the Monastick customs this is the least continued. Silence was necessary (as is said before) to avoid the common sins of the Tongue, so frequent amongst Men, and yet so much condemned in the Scriptures; as Reviling, evil Reports, indecent Rallery, foolish Jesting, vain, Impertinent and unprofitable Discourses; and 'tis observable that the best-Regulated Monasteries are those wherein the rule of Silence is most rigorously observed. The names of Father or Brother according to the difference of Age or Quality, were of Old the common Appellations among Christians. They were very Obedient to their Prelates and to those that had an Authority over them; they were closely cemented in Union among themselves; forward in exercising Hospitality towards their Brethren and liberal in their Alms to the Poor of what sort soever. All this we see still Practised in the Monasteries.

XLIII. The Reasons of the External singularities in the Monks.

BUT, mayn't it be said, If the Monks pretend to no more than to live like good Christians, Why do they affect such singularities and distinctions from the rest of the World? Why do they so distinguish themselves from their Neighbours in matters which are Indifferent? What means this

this ſingularity in Habit and Figure? Thoſe Peculiarities in their way of Eating, their hours of Sleep, the manner of their Lodging, in a Word, all that which makes them look as if they were a different Race of Men from the reſt of Mankind, another ſort of Chriſtians ſcattered among all other Chriſtian Nations? And why ſuch Diverſities amongſt the different Orders of the Religious? And all in matters neither commanded nor forbidden by the Word of God. Doth not all this look as if they had a mind by their Extraordinary out-ſide, to ſtrike the imagination of the People, thereby the better to gain Reſpect and Advantage? This is what manye imagin within themſelves, and ſome ſpeak out expreſly. But theſe Raſh Cenſures proceed from their want of knowledg in Antiquity; for if one will be at the pains of examining into theſe Exteriour Diſtinctions of the Monks, and the other Religious, he'll find that they are only the remains of ancient Manners wlfich have been throughout the courſe of many Ages faithfully preſerved by them, while in the reſt of the World they have undergone wonderful alterations.

Reg. S. Ben. c. lv. To begin with their Habits. St. *Benet* ſaith that the Monks ought to be content with

with a *Tunique*, a *Cowl*, and a *Scapulary* for them to work in. The *Tunique* without a Cloak had a long time been the Habit of the meaner sort of People; and the *Cowl* was a kind of *Hood* worn by Peasants and Poor Labourers. This Accoutrement for the Head being a good fence against the Cold, became afterwards common to all sorts of Persons, and so continued in these parts of Europe till about two hundred Years ago. Not only the Clergy and Men of Letters, but also the Nobility and Courtiers had their Capuches and Hoods of several sorts and fashions. The *Cucullus* mentioned in the Rule of St. *Benet* served instead of a Cloak. Thus what the *Cistertian* Monks call the Cowle, (the name importing as much) and the *Benedictines* the *Frok*, they are of the same Original, being both derived from the Old *Cucullus*. St. *Benet* gives them also a *Scapulary* to work in: It was much wider and shorter than they wear it now, and served, as the name implies, for the carrying burdens upon their shoulders, and to preserve their Tunique. This *Scapulary* had its Capuche or Hood as well as the *Cucullus*. And these two Habits were not worn both at the same time; the *Scapulary*, when they were at Work in their own Monasteries; the *Cucullus*, or Cowle, at Church, or when they went

Vilia vendentem tunicato Scruta popello, Hor. i. Epist. vii.

Pullo Mævius alget in cucullo, Mart.

abroad. Afterwards the Monks came to look upon their *Scapulary* as the moſt Eſſential part of their Habit; ſo that they they never left it off, but wore their *Frock* or Cowle over it.

It appears therefore that St. *Benet* gave his Monks no other Habits, but ſuch as were then commonly worn by the Poorer ſort of People in his Country. They were ſcarce any other way Diſtinguiſhable than by an entire uniformity among themſelves, being all of them clothed exactly alike; which was but neceſſary, that ſo the ſame Suits might ſerve indifferently for all the Monks of the ſame Convent. Now 'tis no wonder that in the Courſe of eleven hundred Years, there ſhould be ſome Diverſity found, as to the colour and ſhape of their Habits, between the ſame order of Monks that follow the rule of St. *Benet*; conſidering the different Countries into which they ſpread, and the ſeveral Reformations made of them in ſeveral places. And as for the other Religious Orders that have been founded within five hundred Years laſt paſt, they have kept to the ſame Habits which they found in uſe in their Times. The greateſt part wear no Linnen Shirts, which to us now-a-Days ſeems a ſevere Prohibition. But the wearing of Linnen Shirts was not of common uſe till long

long after St. *Benet*. In *Poland* they are not worn to this Day; and throughout all *Turkey* they use no Sheets, and but half undress for Bed, lying in their Drawers; tho' even before the use of Linnen-Sheets, 'twas the common custom to go into the Bed Stark naked, as is still done in *Italy*. And therefore their Rule obliges the Monks to Sleep in their Cloaths, without putting off so much as their Girdle.

As for their Diet I have before observ'd, that it was an ordinary thing not only for Christians, but also for the most rational Persons among the Heathens themselves to live on Pulse and Fish, and that 'twas a common custom with them to have some Book read to them as they sat at Meals. I have also observed that Christians did keep many private Fasts, besides the more solemn ones of the Church, and that they made long Graces both before and after Meat. So that herein St. *Benet* hath prescribed nothing singular or extraordinary; on the contrary he was so indulgent as to permit his Monks two different Dishes of Meat and a little Wine. The Hours of Eating and Drinking observed by the Monks were the same all the World over, till this last Age. They Dined at nine or ten in the Morning, as the greatest part of labouring People still do; and Sup't at

Reg. S. Ben. c. 39. & 40.

Phil. Com.

Conf. ord. at six at Night. Those civil Regulations concerning the *Couvrefeu*, and the limited Hours of working at the Forge, shew that they reckoned the hours of rest and sleep from eight of the Clock at Night to four in the Morning, which is the most equal Rule of taking the middle of the Night for sleep, and losing as little as is possible of the Day.

That the *Dormitory* should be without Partitions of Cells, as is directed by the Rule of St. *Benet*, is no more than what their Living-in-common in a strict Sense properly requires; for this is properly to Live in common, to Sleep all in the same Chamber and Dine all in the same Hall: Besides, by this means their Poverty appeared more undisguised, and their Vertue was better guarded. It was easy for their Superior with one Glance of his Eye, to observe whether any thing passed there contrary to Modesty; besides, their Rule farther required, that there should be Lights always in the *Dormitory*, and that every single Bed which consisted only of a Mat and a Coverlet, should be placed in full view. This fashion is still kept up in Hospitals, and 'tis certain was very ancient among Christians; and the Cells likewise (or every one's having his little Apartment to himself) are of very ancient usage. But with the first Monks

Monks of the Deserts, these Cells were only little Hutts or Cottages where they dwelt separately, such as those of the *Carthusians* and the *Camaldoli*, and though there lodged two or three Monks together under the same Roof, yet they changed not their name; and therefore we find that the lesser Monasteries, which we now commonly call *Priories*, passed for a long time under the name of Cells; they were also called *Casæ*. Both the one and the other of these names seem to have been taken up from the lodgings of Slaves: For the Monks in their way of living, chose to imitate the condition of the poorest and most despicable of Mankind.

Besides, methinks I can trace in our Monasteries the Model of the old *Roman* ways of Building, as 'tis described in *Vitruvius* and *Palladius*. Their Church, that it might be free and convenient for Seculars, was always in the front of the Monastery, and seems to have succeeded in the stead of the first Hall, which the *Romans* called the *Atrium*: From thence you pass into a Court surrounded with cover'd Galleries, to which they ordinarily gave the *Greek* name of *Peristilium*; and this is the proper Cloister it self, into which was a passage from the Church, and out of which you are led into the other parts of the House; as the Chapter-house which

was

was for *Exedræ* of the ancients; the *Refectory* or *Triclinium*, and the Garden which ordinarily ſtands behind all the reſt, which was the way of the ancients.

But let that be as it will, certain it is, that thoſe Holy Perſons, who formed their Rules for the Monks, had no deſign of introducing Novelties, or of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by the ſingularities of their Methods. That which makes the Monks appear now ſo ſtrange and extraordinary, is the change of other Mens Manners; as the moſt ancient buildings are become ſingular, becauſe they are the only Fabricks left us that have ſtood for ſo many Ages. And as the more judicious any Architect is, ſo much the more curious is he in finding out the imperfect remains of thoſe old Buildings, as well knowing that that the Art of Building hath in theſe laſt Ages been recovered only by the imitation of theſe excellent Models: So Chriſtians ought exactly to obſerve the Practice of the moſt regular Monaſteries, to give them a view of the beſt examples of a life truly Chriſtian. I know there is ſcarce any thing which the length of time hath not ſomewhat impaired; ſo there is no old building which time hath entirely ſpared, and of many-a-one there remains nothing but miſhapen Ruins; and yet by taking an exact view even of theſe Ruins, and

and examining the very least Fragments of these precious Antiquities, and then by comparing them with their Histories in the Books of the Ancients; we come at the same time both to understand the true proportions of the whole Fabrick, and the true sense of the ancient Writings. After the same manner great use might be made of our Enquiries into the Monastick practices, if together with them we also read the Rules of the Founders of the several Orders, the old Canons, the writings of the new Testament, and the lives of the Saints of all Ages. In the mean time it cannot be denied but that the Monasteries have been the Repositories of all sorts of Antiquities: The greatest part of those old Manuscripts were found in them, by the help of which, Learning hath been restor'd in these last Ages: In them were preserved the Works of the Fathers, and the Canons of the Councils. We discover every day in the Statutes and Customs of ancient Monasteries, Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the greatest Curiosity: In a word, the Evangelical Practice in the Cloysters hath been all along kept up to its primitive Purity, while in the World it hath been every Day changing from worse to worse; and 'tis this Declention of Religion I am now entring upon.

Part IV.

XLIV. The decay of Christian Piety in the Fourth and following Ages, with the causes of it.

HAVING represented the Behaviour of the ancient Christians, I think my self obliged now to add the principal Causes of the prodigious difference there is between *Their* way of living and *Ours*; and so great is that difference, that to many (I doubt not) this Account will appear as strange as those Relations our Travellers give us of the *Indians* and *Chinese* manner of living; and the more Ignorant will scarce have Faith enough to give Credit to it, because every particular is not proved home to them, and the Testimonies set down at length: But the whole stands upon Authorities well known to Persons of Learning and Reading. We will proceed therefore to take a general view of the progress of this decay.

When *Constantine* had declared for Christianity, the Converts came into it, in shoals; and what the Prophets had of old Predicted concerning the Church was literally accomplished; that she should *Isa.* ii. 3. be established on the top of the Mountains and that all Nations should flow in unto her, to learn from her the Law of God, and the Rule of living. On the one side men with their own Eyes beheld the extraordinary Miracles which were every day wrought at the Tombs of the Martyrs; the holy Lives of the greatest part of Christians, and the invincible force of this

this Religion, againſt which three hundred Years cruel Perſecution had prevail'd no farther, than to give it the deeper rooting. On the other ſide, Idolatry, and the Fabulous *Theology* of the Poets was long before ſo expoſed by the Philoſophers, that almoſt all the Men of Wit and Senſe among them believed nothing of it, but kept up the Religion of the People only for their own Intereſts; and therefore they readily quitted it, when it was no longer ſupported by publick Authority; and moſt of them turned Chriſtians: Others out of a Libertine Opinion or Practice e'en continued as they were without having any Religion at all; either becauſe they could not bring their underſtandings to ſubmit to the obedience of Faith, or that they would not quit their Debauchery or forgo their ill gotten Goods, or the unjuſt methods of raiſing their Fortunes.

There were ſcarce any Pagans left but of theſe two ſorts; the groſs ignorant vulgar, who were governed by Cuſtom only and who were not capable of any thing higher than the impreſſions of Senſe; and ſome affected Wits who to ſhew their parts and Learning, and out of a blind Veneration for Antiquity, were reſolved to maintain the cauſe of Paganiſm, and to that end underpropped it with the Allegorical explications of ſome Philoſophers

Fables. These were the Platonicks of those times, far from the good Sense and Solidity of *Plato* and the ancient *Academicks* his Disciples: These fanciful Wits picking up what was most weak in the Doctrin of *Plato*, and mixing it with that of *Pythagoras*, and with the Mysteries of the *Ægyptians*, patch't up a kind of Religion, which at the bottom was founded upon Magick, and which under the pretence of Worshiping good or bad Spirits authorized all sorts of Superstitions. Such was the Religion of *Julian* the Apostate, and we see somewhat of it in the Maxims of *Apuleius* in *Porphyry* and *Jamblichus*. But there were few that penetrated into these subtilties, and Paganism sunk every day more and more into Contempt.

Among so great a multitude of new Christians it was impossible that some should not pass in the Crowd, drawn in only by Temporal Considerations, upon the hopes of making their Fortunes under Christian Princes, Complaisance to their Friends and Relations, the fear of displeasing their Masters; and in a word, upon all those Motives which now a Days make Hypocrites and false Zealots: But these for the most part contented themselves with the bare Character of *Catechumens*; and being loath to submit themselves to that

August. in Jo. vi. 26. tract. ii.

that strictness of Life which Christianity requires; they were for deferring their Baptism as long as they could, and often to the point of Death, that so they might to the last continue the unhappy liberty of committing Sin, without Subjecting themselves to the Discipline of Pennance. Others proceeded even to Baptism, and were not in their Hearts true Converts. Some light inquisitive People were drawn in purely out of a curiosity to know the Mysteries which were revealed to none but the Faithful. Their Superstition made them greedy after Religion, and ambitious of being initiated into all sorts of Ceremonies, and to participate in every thing which bore the name of Sacred, without distinguishing the true God, or the true Religion. Among so many pretenders to Christianity, what caution soever the Prelates could use; They were but Men, and it was impossible they should not sometimes be mistaken.

V. Aug. de Catechiz. c. xvii. Cyr. Hier. Procatech.

Many even of those that were Christians in good earnest, grew every Day more and more remiss. The fear of Martyrdome was removed, and Death did not now appear to them so near at hand. Their security from outward danger betrayed them into that great hazard of Laying aside their Watchfulness. Even in the state of persecution, during the Intervals

Leo. Serm. 6. in Epiph c. iii. Cyr. de Lapsis. Dionys. Alex. apud Euseb. vi. Hist. 34. Euseb. viii. Hist. c. ii.

of their Troubles, there was perceived a ſenſible abatement of Chriſtian fervour: Of this the Fathers very much complain; aſcribing the hotteſt Perſecutions to this remiſneſs of Zeal, when ever they enjoyed the leaſt Reſpite from their Enemies. How muſt it then have been with them in a ſure and ſettled Peace, when twas not only not dangerous to be a Chriſtian, but alſo Honourable and advantageous? The Princes and Magiſtrates being Converted to the Faith, ſtill maintained their Secular Grandeur; and were never the leſs good Chriſtians for looking after their temporal concerns, and exerciſing their Charges: So the common ſort of Believers ſeeing Religion and Worldly greatneſs ſo fairly reconciled in theſe examples, began to think there was no ſuch great danger in Honours, Riches, and other enjoyments of this Life. Thus the Love of pleaſure, Covetouſneſs and Ambition revived in them. The World was now become Chriſtian, yet ſtill the World was the ſame. They began now to Diſtinguiſh between Chriſtians, and Saints, and Religious. We find St. *John Chryſoſtom* frequently complayning of it, that his Hearers, to excuſe their Earthly mindedneſs and too great Solicitude about the affairs of this World, were wont to tell him; We are no Monks, we have Wives

Chryſoſt. ad fidel. patr. Idem Hom. 1. in Matth. hor. in fi.

Wives and Children to provide for, and Families to look after: As if the Christians of *Rome*, or of *Corinth*, whom St. *Paul* calls Saints, and to whom he ascribes so high a Perfection, were not Marryed Persons, and led in the concerns of this World, the same common life with other Men.

To this, add the Corruption of Nature that turns Food into Poyson. The Church had in her publick Offices some kind of Observances more agreeable to outward Sense. These were easily abused to the Flesh, and applyed to wrong Ends, contrary to the Iustitution of them. The Sunday Rejoycings, and those of the other Grand Solemnyties exceeded sometimes the Bounds of Sobriety and Christian Moderation. So that in the fourth Age they were obliged (as I have before observed) to abolish the custome of making Entertainments at the Feasts of the Martyrs, and the Clergy were also Prohibited from being present at those of Marryages. *Origen* hath well observed how difficult a thing it is to reconcile sensible Pleasure with Spiritual joy. The Body is a Slave, which if too much Humour'd and Pamper'd with Food, Sleep, or other such like Indulgences, will presently become Insolent and grow upon us; Usurp upon the *better part*, take off

Basil. Orat. de Ebriet.

Aug. ep. xxix. nov.

Orig. cont. Cels.

the mind from applying it ſelf to Spiritual things, and weaken its power of bearing up againſt Temptation. Nor can the Spirit maintain its dominion over the Fleſh, but by a ſevere Conduct and continual Application. I ſpeak here of the ſame times I have juſt now deſcribed in the third part; and do rip up in them alſo the leaſt Faults, that ſo I may the better trace out the very firſt beginnings of the Declenſion of Chriſtian Piety, without deſigning in the leaſt to invalidate what I there ſaid of the Manners of the Church in general, or of its Diſcipline, which was ſtill preſerved in its full vigor: And above all the Sanctity of their Clergy was extraordinary. However it muſt be granted there were ſome Prelates too ſenſible of the great Honours that were paid them. And ſome alſo were accuſed of having miſemployed the great Eſtates of which they had the Diſpoſal. One may ſee what Complaints were preferred to the Council of *Chalcedon* againſt *Dioſcorus* and *Ibas* upon this account. I believe there can ſcarce be found any of the Orthodox Biſhops of thoſe times juſtly charged with the ſame Reproach. But as the *Arrians* and other Hereticks had alſo their Biſhops and Prieſts; Their Paſſionate Conduct leſſened in the eyes of the World, the Honour of the order it ſelf. 'Twas

Conc. Chalc. Act. iii. & x.

a great scandal to the *Pagans* and weak Christians to see Persons that had such Venerable Titles, Masters of so little Temper, and disputing with such heat against the other Bishops and Priests, outraging them with Injuries and aspersions both in their Discourses and Writings. Coming to the Court, Solliciting the favour of the Prince to support their Party. For the Hereticks omitted none of these Practises. One might have seen the Monks, transported with a mistaken Zeal, leaving their Solitudes, flocking to the Cities, raising Seditions, and committing unheard of Insolencies. These disorders Reigned pincipally in the East, where the Spirits of Men being generally of a more hot and inflexible Temper, their Passions presently took fire, and carried them to the highest Excesses. In the mean time this mightily sunk in the eyes of the World, the respect due to Persons Consecrated to Religion, and consequently the honour to Religion it self.

The outward appearance of vertue in the Heathens, was another Stumbling-block to the Weak. For some there were that led lives Morally good: Were true to their Word, Just in their Dealing, abhorred Fraud and Avarice; in a Word, observed all the Laws and Rules of civil Society. Pretending that it was sufficient *Aug. in Io. tract. xlv.*

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ent for a Man to Live up to the ſight of Nature, and follow the Law of right Reaſon, without troubling themſelves with thoſe diſputes, which divided the Chriſtians. As if the Chriſtians did not profeſs to follow the ſovereign Reaſon, that is, the Word Incarnate. Theſe wiſe-Men of this World looked upon Faith as an inſtance of weakneſs a prejudice of the Underſtanding; and reckoned Mortification, a rigorous chaſtity, forbearing of *Spectacles* and Profane Diverſions, as a piece of Superſtition. Now, though Chriſtianity was the Religion of the Prince, yet the number of Pagans was ſtill ſo great that there was no hindering of them from Writing, and Speaking, and Dogmatiſing publickly. This freedom was a remainder of the Antient Pretenſions of the Philoſophers; of which the Hereticks alſo well knew how to make their advantage. All that the Emperors could do in theſe firſt times, was to ſhut up the Temples, prohibit Sacrifices, and the other publick ceremonies of Idolatrous Worſhip. Nor could that be done without great Murmurings of the Pagans. We know what Efforts the Senate made under *Valentinian* the Younger to have the Altar of Victory Reſtored. Some times they proceeded even to open Violence aginſt the Chriſtians, who publickly

V. Aug. Contra. advers. leg & proph.

Cod. de Pagan.

Ambros. ad Valentin. de relat. Symmach. Epiſt. xxxi.

lickly oppoſed their Superſtitions: And therefore we meet with ſome Martyrs, even under the moſt Chriſtian Emperors. The Emperors themſelves retained ſome Formalities of Paganiſm, which in the bottom were no more than empty Titles. As the Name and Habit of the *Pontifex Maximus*, or High Prieſt, which gave them a great Authority over all the Magiſtrates. So alſo they had the Title of Divinity continued to them, and every thing appertaining to it: As their Palace, their Treaſure, their Demeſnes, their Letters, their Purple; to all which was commonly added the Epithet of Sacred and Divine. This Stile was neceſſary to keep up the Veneration of the People, nor did any of the moſt Holy Chriſtian Biſhops ever ſcruple the uſe of it. In the mean time the Pagans, as to the generallity of them, grew every Day more and more Corrupt. All that hath been ſaid before of the Vices that Reigned in the World when the Goſpel made its firſt appearance, was ſtill the ſame; and excepting ſome few of extraordinary Force and Elevation, and the Philoſophers I juſt mentioned, there was neither among the *Greeks* nor the *Romans*, any remainder of Probity which could come up to a Counter-Ballance. Thus matters ſtood when the Empire ſunk in the Weſt; and though it

Martyrol. i. Jan. xvii. *Mart.* xiv. *Aug.*

Baron. an. 312.

Numen, domus divina, Sacrum erarium Sacr patrim, &c.

con-

continued longer in the East, yet it was only till it met with the like violent Shock. There was neither Discipline in their Armies, nor Authority in their Commanders, nor dispatch in their Councils, nor Conduct in their management, nor Vigor in their Youth, nor Prudence in the Aged, nor Love for their Country, nor any concern for the Common-good; every one minded himself only, his own Pleasures and private Interests, and basely either Neglected or Betrayed the Publick. The *Romans* Effeminated by Sloth and Luxury, defended themselves against the Barbarians by the help of Barbarians themselves, whom they hired for pay to serve in their Armies: They were Drowned in Pleasures and Delights, and valued themselves upon a false Gallantry, which had nothing solid at the bottom; so that the measures of their Iniquities and Abominations being filled up, God in his righteous Judgment executed upon them that exemplary punishment foretold by St. *John*. *Rome* was often taken and Sacked by the Barbarians; the Blood of so many Martyrs with which she had made her self Drunk was avenged; and the Empire of the West fell a Prey into the Hands of the People of the North, who divided it into a set of new Kingdoms.

V. Amm. Marcell. lib. 14. *lib.* 28.

Apoc. 14. & 18.

The

The Christians living among a People so perverse and so extreamly corrupt, I mean these later *Romans*; it was difficult to keep their Vertue from declining, especially being no longer Strangers among the Infidels, as in the times of Persecution, having nothing now to guard against but their Friendship and Caresses: 'Tis no wonder therefore that we find the Fathers of the Fourth Age upbraiding Christians with the grossest Vices. St. *Austin* dissembles not the Matter, but plainly lets the Heathens disposed to turn Christians, know before hand how great Sinners they were like to meet with even among the Christians themselves; that so they might be the less surprized at them, and consequently the less Scandal'd. *Among the Herd of them, (*saith he*) that fill our material Churches, you will find some Riotous, some Covetous, some Fraudulent Persons; you will see there some Gamesters, Adulterers, Debauchees, Play-haunters; others who apply themselves to Diabolical remedies, Enchanters, Astrologers, Diviners of all sorts. And yet all these pass for Christians.* He frankly confesses to the *Manichees* that there were even among the professors of the true Religion some Persons Sottishly Superstitions, others so addicted to their vicious Passions that they never so much as thought of their Vows made to God.

V. Salvian. de gubern. Dei. lib. vi. & vii.

Auguſt. de Catech.c. v. vii. 17. 25.

Aug. de Mor. Eccl. c. 34.

He

He often ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe in many of his tracts againſt the Donatiſts, where he clearly proves to them, *That the Tares muſt continue together with the Wheat till the time of Harveſt*; that is, the Day of Judgment: And elſewhere he cenſures the Injuſtice of them who approve or condemn all Chriſtians and all Monks in general for the good or evil of ſome particular Perſons. We find the like inſtances of the corruption of Chriſtians in St. *Chryſoſtom* and the other Fathers of theſe times; to what purpoſe then (may it be objected) ſerved the publick Pennances and Excommunications? To purge the Church of a great many Vices though not of all. To the impoſing of Pennance it was neceſſarily required that the Offender ſhould deſire it, or at leaſt that he ſhould voluntarily ſubmit to it, ſo that he was obliged to acknowledge his Offence, either by a free Confeſſion of it himſelf, or by acquieſing in the Accuſation of others. Excommunication was for thoſe who would not accept of Pennance, though they were convict, either by their own Confeſſion or by legal Proofs, or by notoriety of Fact. And yet after all, the Prudent and Charitable Biſhops did not haſtily proceed to this laſt extremity. They often admoniſhed the Convicted Offender, and put him in mind of the deſperateneſs of his Condi-

Aug. in pſ. 99. c. 12 &c

V. Chryſoſt. in Matth. hom. 61. Idem de compunct. Idem ad fidel. patr.

Aug. Enchirid. c. lxxx.

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tion upon persisting in Impenitence; they earnestly exhorted him to get out of that dangerous State; they spared neither Threats nor Intreaties to overcome the hardness of his Heart; they lamented over him before God, and obliged the Congregation to Pray for him; they waited in expectation a long time, imitating the Patience and long Suffering of the Father of Mercies; in a word, 'twas not till they had tried all the Methods of Charity, that they proceeded to this sad Remedy; and that with the grief of a Parent, who to save the Life of his Son is himself forced with his own Hand to cut off his Arm. *Const. Ap. ii. cap. 41.*

But as for those whose Crimes were private and concealed, either known only to God, or impossible to be proved, there was no remedy against them: They could not deny them entrance into the Church, nor participiation of the Sacraments, if they were so Sacrilegiously impious as to approach the holy Mysteries. In former times the Persecutions were sufficient Trials to seperate the Chaff from the Wheat. But when they ceased, Hypocrisy was carried on to the last breath of Men. In the mean time the Church was a great sufferer by these lukewarm and corrupt Christians; their evil Discourses and evil Examples were a scandal to Religion

ligion; and their looſe Conduct had a pernicious effect, eſpecially upon their own Families. They did but ill inſtruct their Children, and yet brought them to Baptiſm: And this defect of Family Education was of great Conſequence in theſe firſt Ages, where we cannot find that there was any Catechiſm publickly appointed for the Inſtruction of Chriſtian Children.

XLV. The Incurſions of the Barbarians, and their manners.

THE Ravages of the Barbarians who overturned the *Roman* Empire, had as pernicious an influence upon the Manners of the Church as the Corruption of the later *Romans*. The Goſpel which is the higheſt Reaſon, rejects every vicious diſpoſition, as being inconſiſtent with it: Neither the affectedly Ignorant, the Knaviſh, the Savage nor the Slothful can be good Chriſtians; Barbarity and Cruelty are as incompatible with true Religion as Luxury and Effeminacy; Wars and Hoſtilities are as contrary to Piety, as they are to Juſtice and all good Order: So that Religion ſuffered deeply under thoſe horrid Confuſions brought upon the World by the Savage Nations of the North; who like a Flood breaking in upon the *Roman* Empire over run it all. St. *Jerome* and the other Fathers who lived in thoſe times have left us a lamentable Deſcription of them. A Barba-

Hier. in Iſ. cap. v. in fi. & al. Idem epiſt. de fun. Nepotiani in fi. & ad Gerontiam & ad Agenechiam.

rous

Enemy destroying all before him, their Towns taken by Storm, and their Countries lying at the Mercy of the rude Soldiery. 'Tis easy to imagin with what distraction all Mens minds were filled; what would become of their Lives and Fortunes, of themselves and their families; how to secure their Persons from Captivity, and their Wives and Daughters from Violation. These were pressing Considerations, and violent Temptations to them to neglect their Spiritual concerns: A Man must have been endowed with a very Heroick Resolution to maintain the Constancy of his Mind in the midst of the horrible Slaughters, the dismal desolations, and all the other terrible Ravages of a Brutish Conqueror. We have still extant the Letters of St *Basil*, and the more ancient ones of St. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, where we may see into what grievous Crimes the Christians were betrayed by the Incursions of the Barbarians into *Cappadocia*, and the Pennances thereunpo enjoyned them.

When the *Vandals* wasted *Africa*, that which most sensibly affected St. *Austin*, was as (*Possidius* relates it) the hazards and loss of Souls by it. *He saw* (saith that Author) *the Churches forsaken of their Priests and Ministers; the sacred Virgins and the other Religious scattered abroad in the wide World; some sinking under their Tor-*

ments, others put to the Sword, others led into Captivity; where having lost the honour of their Chaſtity, the Integrity of their Conſcience, and the Orthodoxy their Faith, they remained Slaves to their Brutal and unmerciful Enemies. He ſaw the ſacred Hymns and Praiſes of God given over in the Churches, and the very Buildings themſelves in many places levell'd with the ground. That the Sacrifices and Sacraments were no longer ſought after; and they that did deſire them could not eaſily meet with any capable of Adminiſtring them. That the Biſhops and Clergy whom God had graciouſly preſerved from falling into the Hands of the Enemies or gave them the means of an eſcape after they had been taken were ſpoiled of all, and reduced to the laſt degree of Beggery, without any ones being able to relieve them according to their Neceſſities. By this Inſtance one may imagin how it was with them in the other great Provinces in *Spain*, *Gaul* and *Illyrium*. What means were there left under theſe Confuſions either for inſtructing the People or breeding up Prieſts and Preachers? How could the Biſhops viſit their Flocks, or meet in Councils to fill up the vacant Sees, and maintain the regularity of Diſcipline? The Church hath good reaſon in all her Prayers to beg of God the bleſſing of Peace and Tranquillity, without which the Publick exerciſe of

V. Conc. i. Bracar. & 411.

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Religion muſt needs fall to the Ground.

'Tis true the Barbarians were converted. The *Francs* turned Chriſtians, the *Goths* and the *Lombards* of *Arians* became good Catholicks; but ſtill they remained Barbarians: I call *Barbariſm* here, that diſpoſition of Mind by which Men govern themſelves not by Reaſon, but by Paſſion or by Cuſtom. We have remarkable inſtances of the Power of Cuſtom in the *Iroques* and the other People of *America*, whom we call Savages. We have ſcarce ever heard of any Nation leſs given to Women, or leſs Subject to the Paſſion of Anger; they are very Patient, great admirers of Juſtice and Gratitude, Liberal and Hoſpitable: But to this very Day it hath been almoſt impoſſible to make Chriſtians of them, except thoſe who have been brought up among the *French*, and from their Infancy familiarized to our Cuſtoms; not that they want Reaſon or Underſtanding in thoſe things they are bred to, but they are incapable of receiving new Impreſſions. They can form to themſelves no notion of one God the Creator of the Univerſe, and Governour over all Nations: They cannot apprehend the reaſon why there ſhould be but one only Religion in the whole World; they cannot be affected with the hopes of a life to come; nor comprehend what we mean when we tell

them of an happineſs purely Spiritual; and much leſs do they underſtand us when we declare to them the more ſublime Myſteries of Religion. They will patiently hear what he have to ſay without contradicting us: but when we have ſaid all we can, one may plainly perceive they are nothing moved at it: If we put them upon Baptiſm, 'tis an ordinary thing with them to deſire it, if they find it will be for their Intereſt, or if they can but get ſome little Toy by it; but as ſoon as they have gained their ends they think no more of their Vows; they return to their own People, follow their old trade of eating the Fleſh of Men again, and torturing their Enemies to Death. There are other Barbarians abſolutely ſtupid, as the *Negroes* and *Cafres*, in whom we find no Sentiments of any Religion at all; ſuch dull heavy Souls that nothing but what is ſenſible and Palpable can enter into their underſtanding; all theſe poor Creatures muſt firſt be made Men before they can be made Chriſtians.

I will not ſay that the *Franks* and other People who Conquered the *Romans* were Barbarous to this degree; but it is certain that they had nothing of Learning among them, nor any uſe of Letters; that they apply'd themſelves never to Arts nor Agriculture; that they lived by Blood and

and Plunder, and were so fierce and Savage in their Natures, that the *Romans* were even scared at the very sight of such horrid Figures. We see a great deal of Inconstancy and Inequality in their Conduct, which seems to be the proper Character of Barbarians: For the principal effect of reason is Constancy and Consistency in a Man's Designs and Actions; 'tis not to act like Men to be given up to diversity of Passions, as objects shall present themselves. It must be owned there appears much Irregularity and Self-contradiction in the Lives of *Our* first Christian Kings; *Clovis* and his Sons after him discover on the one side much respect and Zeal for Religion; but on the other, they fell into many notorious Acts of Injustice and Cruelty. The good King *Gontram* whom the Church hath placed in the number of her Saints, amongst many works of Piety, was guilty of gross Faults, and *Dagobert* that famous Founder of Monasteries, led a very vicious Life; not but that there were even in those Days Bishops of an Apostolick Sanctity and Vigour; but they chose the lesser evil, and shew'd a better inclination for Christian Princes though weak and imperfect, than for Pagans and Persecutors of the Church. One sign that they did not easily confide in the Barbarian Converts is, That for the space

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Mar. Rom. 28 Mart.

Two hundred Years we ſcarce meet with any Clergy that were not of the *Romans*, as appears by their Names. We find at the ſame time great complaints againſt the too great eaſineſs of ſome Prieſts in admitting People to Penance more than once, which ſeems to have taken its beginning from the Levity and Inconſtancy of the Barbarians.

Conc. Tolet. iii. *an.* 589. *cap.* xi. *V. Gregor. Paſtor.* iii. *admon.* 31. *Iſidor. ſent.* 16.

XLVI. The mixture of the *Romans* and the Barbarians.

THESE two Nations, the *Romans* I mean and the Barbarians, incorporated by degrees; but as in the mixture of two different Colours, each one loſes its property, and there ariſeth a third which rubs out the former, ſo the Barbarians were ſoftned and Cultivated by their Commerce with the *Romans*; but the *Romans* themſelves became more groſs and ignorant by Converſing with the Barbarians; ſo that in the ſixth Age we may ſenſibly perceive a vaſt change in the Manners of the Weſt. The Hiſtorians, Poets, and other profane Authors were now but little regarded by them, that they might have more leiſure to apply themſelves only to Religion, which yet may receive great ſervice from theſe Foreign Studies, by ſupplying us with Critical Learning, and the knowledge of Antiquity: 'Twas for want of theſe helps that they were too ready to receive ſuch Suppoſititious Writings as were

were impoſed upon the World under the ſpecious Names of ancient Eccleſiaſtical Authors; as alſo that they became too credulous in the beleiving Miracles. It was a thing ſo certain that the Apoſtles and their Diſciples had wrought many Miracles, and that many true ones were daily performed too at the Tombs of the Martyrs; that they were not now ſo curious in enquiring into them, as to diſtinguiſh the true from the falſe. The more ſurprizing Relations of this nature any Hiſtory contained, the more taking it was. Their Ignorance in Philoſophy and the little knowledge they had of Nature, made them take all ſtrange Appearances for Prodigies, and interpret them as the ſupernatural Signs of God's Wrath. They believed there was ſomething in *Aſtrology*, and dreaded Eclipſes and Comets as diſmal Preſages. *vita. Lud. Pii.*

But what they wanted in knowledge and fineneſs of Parts, was largely made amends for by their Piety and ſolid Vertues. All the Diſcipline which I have before deſcribed in the Third Part continued to the Tenth Age. Chriſtians even to the Princes and Kings themſelves, were never more conſtant in the *Pſalmody*, and all other exerciſes of Religion, than in thoſe times I am now ſpeaking of; never more regular in obſerving the Faſts, *V. Thomaſs Diſcp. ii. l. i c. 16. p. iii. l. i. c. 20.*

and Solemnising the Festivals of the Church. Nothing is more famous in History than the Chappel of *Charlemain*; as he was for the most part travailing, he caused to be carried along with him Reliques, sacred Ornaments, and all other things necessary for the performance of the divine Offices, with a numerous train of Clergy made up of selected Persons. In his Travailling Chappel the service was performed with as much magnificence as in any Cathedral Church: His example was followed by the Princes that succeeded him; and herein as in every thing else these Princes were imitated by the several great Lords who built their Fortunes upon the Ruin of this Family: During all these times there were Prelates of a very exemplary Life, constant in Prayer and Zealous for the Conversion of Souls, witness those that planted the Faith in *Gallia Belgica*, *Germany* and the other remote Climates of the North. The Bishops increased daily in their Authority. Besides the dignity of their Office, and the Sanctity of their Lives, their capacity for business, and their tender Affection for the People doubly recommended them during the incursion of the Barbarians, they often interposed and put a stop to the fury of the Conquerors, to save their Cities from Plunder at the peril of their own

Lives

Lives. Thus *Attila* was diverted from entring *Rome* by Pope St. *Leo*, and from *Troys* by St. *Lupus*, from *Orleans* by St. *Agnan*, but St. *Desiderius* of *Langres* and St. *Nicasius* of *Reims*, lost their Lives for their Flocks, having their Throats cut by the *Vandals*. When these Barbarian Kings turned Christians, the Bishops made part of their Councils, and were the most trusty of their Ministers: They did what they could to recommend Gentleness and Clemency to them, often interceding for Criminals, and making use of several methods to this purpose: 'Twas for this end they were so very careful to have the rights of *Sanctuary* maintained; a Privilege which at first the Veneration of Martyrs, and afterwards of some illustrious Saints, had procured to the places of their Sepulchre, as in *France* to that of St. *Martin*. Hence also ('tis plain) came in the Custom of putting out Peoples Eyes who ought to have suffered Death; they thought to put them out of a capacity of doing more mischief in the World, and yet give them time to Repent; but sometimes they shut them up in Monasteries. *Martyr.* 23 *Mai.* 14. *Dec.*

The Bishops also made use of the credit they had with their Princes, to restrain them from Acts of Injustice and Oppression, to procure the Relief of the Poor, and the common good. To these ends and pur-

purpoſes they frankly employed the Rich-
V. Anaſtas. es of the Church. He that reads what good Works the Popes have done, from the time of St. *Gregory* to *Charlemain*; both in repairing the Ruins of *Rome*, and Reedifying not only the Churches and Hoſpitals there, but likewiſe the Streets and *Aquæducts*; as alſo preſerving all *Italy* from the Violence of the *Lombards*, and the Avarice of the *Greeks*: He that reads the Lives of St. *Almulphus*, St. *Eligius*, (St, *Audoenus*) St. *Ligarius*, and the other Prelates who had a great hand in the Management of the publick Affairs in thoſe Days: He may ſee that Chriſtianity is ſo far from interfering with the Intereſts of the State, that it is indeed the ſureſt foundation of true Politie, as being the beſt means of Uniting Men together, and making them ſerviceable to each other in Society.

This great Reputation of the Biſhops and Abbots inſenſibly drew them in to ſhare in the Temporal Power. They were Lords, and had the ſame priviledges with Lay-Peers, but ſtill with the ſame Incumbrances: As to furniſh out Soldiers for the Service of the State, and often to lead them in Perſon. The different Nations were in time ſufficiently intermixed to make the Clergy either of *Barbarians* or *Romans*. But an intire alteration

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in their Behavior, was much more difficult. 'Twas very hard to restrain them from Hunting, and the exercise of Arms after their Ordination; especially when by the orders of their Prince, they were obliged to appear in the Field. Nor indeed can it be denyed, but that those *Temporal Seigneuries* annexed to *Spiritual Dignities* were a great cause of the decay of Discipline.

XLVII. The Manners of the Christians in the East from the fifth Age.

IN the East they never had any of these Temporalties. But there were other causes there which produced as bad effects. The great Heresys, which took their Rise and Course in those parts, had set the Wits of many too busily on Work, and shaken the Foundation of their Faith. *Nestorius* on the one side and *Eutiches* or rather *Dioscorus*, on the other, had vast numbers of followers. Their disputes were endless, and from disputing they often fell into Quarrels and Seditions. The Clergy and Monks, who were the most Zealous, brake forth into the greatest Heats; and when these last above all others, espoused the Quarrel, so far as to quit their Solitudes and flock to the Citys to maintain the Cause of God, (as they thought) there were no methods too Lawless or Violent for them. Tis well known what bloody Tragedies were Acted in

Ægypt

Ægypt and *Syria* by the oppoſers of the Council of *Chalcedon*.

The Emperors endeavouring by their ſecular authority to remedy the Evil, did only encreaſe it. For inſtead of applying themſelves to ſee the Deciſions of the Church put in execution, by Chaſtiſing and Suppreſſing the Obſtinate and Seditious by force, they engaged themſelves in the Controverſy, and to end the Diſpute, made uſe of dangerous Accommodations, determining the Point by their Imperial Edicts. And at length, encouraged by the ſervile compliances of the Biſhops, they undertook the regulation of the Church Diſcipline, that is to ſay, they ruined it. For there was now no other rule left but the Emperor's Will and Pleaſure.

Though the *Roman* Empire in the Eaſt was yet in Being; yet they were no longer *Romans* ſave only in Name, nor *Greeks* but in Language. 'Twas a meer Hotch Potch of all ſorts of *Barbarians*, *Thracians*, *Illyrians*, *Iſaurians*, *Armenians*, *Perſians*, *Scythians*, *Sarmatians*, *Bulgarians* and *Ruſſians*. So that in all Hiſtory we ſcarce meet with a People more corrupt then theſe later *Greeks*. They had the Vices of the Antients, but nothing of their Wit and Ingenuity, or of their Arts and Sciences. And yet they were all Chriſtians, and very careful to keep up the outward

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ſhew, the pomp and formalities of Religion.

When the *Mahometans* had made themſelves Maſters of the Eaſt, the Chriſtians of thoſe parts could not avoid keeping great Commerce with them. Great numbers of *Greeks* in *Ægypt* and *Syria* liv'd under their Subjection. For the Conqueſt of the *Muſulmans* (as the followers of *Mahomet* call themſelves) eſtabliſhed their falſe Religion, without aboliſhing the exerciſe of the Chriſtian, in the places where they found it. Their Religion was too abſurd to be received by them who had ever been enlightned with the true Faith, ſince it taught Men to Believe in a Man that pretended himſelf to be ſent from God, upon his own bare Word; without any Prophecy foretelling his coming, without any Miracle to prove his Miſſion, or Reaſon to Support his Doctrine. That which got him followers, was his Addreſſiing himſelf to the *Arabians*, a ſort of *Barbarians* as Ignorant as himſelf, the happy ſucceſs of his Arms, and fairly dividing the Spoils with them. The Chriſtians had him in Deteſtation, and were a long time ſubject to the *Mahometans* before they could ſo much as think of being in the leaſt reconciled to their Religion.

But

But at last they came to it; and at the end of Two hundred Years, the Empire of the *Musulmans* being now in its full Glory under *Califs*, their Religion began to appear less frightful to the Christians, who were now grown miserably Ignorant, and had their Spirits broken by a long Servitude. The Original of *Mohometism* was now grown Old enough to be concealed and set off with the Embelishments of a vast many fabulous Stories. The *Pompous Gallimafrys* of the *Alcoran*, where the Name of God appearing in every page, enough to impose upon the Ignorant. It every where Inculcates the Unity of God, and the Abhorrence of Idolatry: It speaks with great vehemence concerning the last Judgment, Hell, and Paradise; it makes honourable mention of *Moses* and the *Prophets*, of the *Apostles* and Martyrs, and gives high Encomiums to Jesus Christ himself. Besides it imitates several of the External Parts of Christianity. The Christians Prayed seven times a Day, the *Musulmans* Prayed five: The Christians had their Annual Fast of forty Days, the *Musulmans* have theirs of twenty nine, keeping always strict Fast till Night, as the Christians then did: The Christians keep Sunday Holy; the *Musulmans* Friday: We assemble in our Churches to Pray to God, hear

hear the Reading of the Scriptures and the Instructions of the Priest; they also Pray after their manner, in their Moschs, Read their Alcoran there, and hear the Preachings of their Doctors. They make Pilgrimages to the Land which they Esteem Holy, and visit the Tombs of their pretended Martyrs. They give much Alms, and have Hospitals Founded among them in great numbers. They have also some sorts of Religious Persons, who live in Common, and afflict the Body after a Terrible manner. For there is no sort of Exteriour Austerities which Persons without Vertue may not Imitate, either out of Vain Glory or for Interest. But they can never bring themselves to live in Silence and Labour without being seen of Men. To do this, a Man must be a Christian.

Our Travellers Bred up in the midst of Christendom, are often affected with this outside of Religion, and those Moral Vertues they meet with amongst the Infidels; and sometimes return Home staggered in their Thoughts, and inclining to believe that all things are indifferent in matters of Religion. Under how great Temptations then must those poor Christians have layn, that were Born under the power of those Infidels, and obliged to pass their whole Lives with them;

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kept under Oppreſſion by them, and having no other means of making their condition Comfortable in this World, but by quitting the Faith of their Anceſtors. 'Tis a wonder they were not all Perverted: And the number of Chriſtians ſtill remayning throughout all the Levant after a Thouſand Years of Temptation, is a manifeſt proof of the power of the Goſpel, and of the weakneſs of *Mahometiſm.*

The Chriſtians alſo that were ſubjects to the Emperors of *Conſtantinople* might be eaſily corrupted by their Commerce with the *Mahometans*, and the ſeveral ſorts of Hereticks that Infected all the Eaſt. The Judgment of the Emperor *Leo*, Author of the Sect of the *Iconoclaſts* is ſuppoſed to have been corrupted by the *Jews*, and Saraſins or the *Arabian*, *Mahometans*. The Emperor *Michael Balbus* paſſed for no better than half-a-*Jew*. The Young Emperor *Michael* the third, with the Lewd Companions of his Debauches, acted over in a moſt execrable mockery the Holy Ceremonies of our Religion, even to the Tremendous Sacrifice it ſelf; and not long after him, I meet with another Young Emperor, *Alexander* the Son of *Leo* the Philoſopher, openly Blaſpheming againſt Chriſtianity, and Regretting the Suppreſſion of Idolatry. This makes me ſuſpect, that of all Chriſtians, the *Greeks* were

V. Baron. an. 853. Curopal.

were the first Authors of Libertinism in matters of Religion. Not that I would be thought to fix this suspicion on the whole Nation of them, but only upon some of their great ones, and other particular Persons. For in these times, generally speaking, Religion bore up nobly throughout the whole *Greek* Empire. They had among them great Doctors, great Bishops, and eminent Religious, besides many Martyrs too in defence of the Holy Images.

XLVIII. The Manners of the West. The disorders of the tenth Age.

IN the West the Faith was hitherto kept Inviolate. It never enter'd into the thoughts of any Man to call the principles of Religion in Question, nor was it here infected with Heresy. But Ignorance and Barbarism increased upon it. *Charlemain* did all he could to re-establish good Literature and Ecclesiastical Discipline: But the following Princes did not pursue his great designs: So that after his Days both Church and State fell into greater Disorders then ever. The Faith had been before planted in *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, and all the rest of *Germany*. But to secure it among those rugged Nations, *Charlemain* was oblig'd to back the Preaching of the Gospel, with the Sword and Temporal Punishments; so that there were many involuntary Conversion, which by the unhappines of the Times was not seconded with that care,

which was neceſſary to have given Religion ſure rooting in a new and unbroken Soil; ſo that one may eaſily imagin there remained at the bottom, a Core of Ignorance and Spiritual Inſenſibility. And this perhaps is one of the Cauſes why Schiſm and Hereſy have ſince found ſo eaſy an Acceſs, and ſpread themſelves all over the North. The Civil Wars which were carryed on from the Reign of *Lewis* the *Debonnaire*, turn'd all things back again, into a ſtate of Ignorance and Confuſion; even in the ſoundeſt parts of the French Empire. And to compleat their miſery, the *Normans*, as yet *Pagans*, ravaged and deſtroyed it on every ſide. The *Huagarian Pagans* alſo, overran *Italy*; the *Saraſins* for a long time hovered upon their *Coaſts*, keeping them always upon the Allarm, and at laſt effectually made themſelves Maſters of *Apulia* and *Sicily*, beſides *Spain* which they had now Poſſeſſed for more then an Age. So that what Remainders had been hitherto left of the Old *Roman* Manners, and Polite Genius, were now perfectly worn out.

The loſs of Arts, Learning, and Civility had been the more Supportable, had not the Intereſts of Religion been involved in their Fate, which cannot ſubſiſt, without both Study and Preaching; the one to preſerve in it the Soundneſs of Doc-

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trin, the other the purity of its Morals. Religion muſt neceſſarily fall into Decay, unleſs the Holy Scriptures be diligently Read, Taught and Explained to the People; unleſs the Apoſtolical Traditions be preſerved in their Purity, and Purged from time to time of thoſe Spurious Additions, which the Inventions of Men make without any juſt Authority. All this was a thing hard to be done in the miſerable times of which we are now ſpeaking. The greateſt part of the Layety neither had Books, nor indeed cou'd ſo much as Read. And if ſome of the great Lords had amongſt their Rarities ſome Antient Authors, yet they were not able to uſe them being Written in Latin. The Latin was now no longer in common uſe; and in the French and the other Vulgar Languages, which were as yet but in their beginning, and unformed, nothing was Written (So that as they could not underſtand the one, they had nothing to Read in the other.) But the publick Offices of the Church, were performed in Latin; and the Scriptures were Read to the People in the ſame Language, but ſeldom Explained. The Lords, by reaſon of the little Wars, they continually had one againſt another, kept themſelves cloſe ſhut up every one within the Walls of his own Caſtle, ſo that they ſeldom

came near the Epiſcopal City, eſpecially if they chanced to be (as it often happened) at War with the Biſhop himſelf. They were forced therefore to be content with the private Maſſes of their Chaplains, or the Office of the Neighbouring Monaſteries. But the Monks were never deſigned for the buſineſs of Preaching, nor could they, without their own Walls, exerciſe any thing of Diſcipline or Correction. In the ninth Age we find the Biſhops complaining, that all the People of Eſtate and Quality had forſaken the Pariſh Churches, and earneſty preſſing it upon them, that they would vouchſafe to ſhew themſelves there at leaſt at the ſolemn ſeaſons: So they called thoſe Feaſts on which they thought all Chriſtians obliged to Communicate, which were theſe four *viz. Chriſtmas*, *Holy Thurſday*, *Eaſter.* and *Whitſontide.* Nor were the common People better inſtructed than their Nobility, except in ſome Citys where they had good Biſhops. For moſt of the Biſhops themſelves, Preached ſo very ſeldom, that we find there were many Canons made, requiring them to explain to the People in the Vulgar Language the Creed and the Lords Prayer, that is to ſay, the firſt Rudiments of Religion, or as we now call it, the Catechiſm. In this groſs darkneſs, who could have imagined

Conc. Ticin. an. 855. *c.* iv.

Agob. de priv. Sacerd. Theodulph. c. xlv. 46.

Hom. Leon. P. P. iv.

gined how far Ignorance and Credulity might improve, but that we have the Marks of it ſtill extant in the Old Legends of thoſe times? The Prieſts and Clergy were in too mean a Capacity themſelves to be able to inſtruct others. Under thoſe Univerſal Hoſtilities with which the World was then Haraſſed, they were alſo forced to take up Arms in their own Defence, and with Sword in Hand to ſecure the temporalities of the Church by which they Subſiſted. Many of them were by their Poverty neceſſitated to betake themſelves to ſordid Employments; or elſe to travel about from Province to Province, till they could meet with ſome Biſhop or Lord to entertain them. Being Reduced to ſuch a Condition, how could they purſue their Studies or lead Lives Conformable to their orders. 'Twas only in ſome few Cathedrals and Monaſteries, that a regular Courſe of Studying and the exact Rules of a Religious Life were preſerved and maintained. All this while the Monks and Canons were notoriouſly degenerated from their Primitive Conſtitution, as one may ſee by thoſe excellent Regulations which *Lewis* the *Debonnaire* made to reeſtabliſh their Diſcipline. But the Confuſions following put them into a worſe ſtate than they were in before. The greateſt part of the Monaſteries were Plun-

Conc. Aquisgran. an. 817.

der'd, Burnt and Ruin'd, by the *Normans*; the Monks and Canons Maſſacred or diſperſed and forced to Live in the World again.

This Ignorance and Poverty to which the Clergy and Monks were reduced, ſo debaſed their Spirits, that they ſoon became inſenſible of the Sufferings of the Church in general, and little minded any thing elſe than how to ſecure their own Stakes, and Live at Eaſe themſelves. Thus Simony came to be a common practiſe, Concubinage was ſo too, and often maintained with great Impudence; eſpecially in Germany, where Religion ever had a weak footing. Theſe Ignorant Clerks, who never looked upon their Miniſtry as any thing elſe than meerly a Trade to get a Livelihood; who Lived every one by themſelves, without applying to their Studies or their Prayers, but very much to their ſecular Affairs; did not uuderſtand the reaſons of Celibacy, and looked upon the enjoyning it as an Inſupportable Tyrany. This was the cauſe of the Rage they expreſſed againſt Pope *Gregory* the Seventh and all others who were for taking away this occaſion of Offence.

Under theſe Publick Calamities one may eaſily imagin ho wmiſerably thePoor were neglected. How could they be relived

leived by the Clergy who had ſo much a-do to live themſelves? or where could they receive Alms in the times of ſuch dreadful Famines as happened in theſe Ages, where we often read of Mens being reduced to feed on human Fleſh? Nor was Commerce in thoſe Days ſufficiently open to have the wants of one Country ſupplyed out of the abundance of another. The Church found it difficult to perſerve its Conſecrated Plate: 'Tis in theſe times we ſee the Prohibition of the uſe of Calices of Horn, Glaſs, Wood or Copper; and the permiſſion of them of Tin: Not but that the Churches had ſtill vaſt Patrimonies; but that ſerved only as a Bait to the Princes and Lords the more greedily to invade them. The Biſhopricks were often uſurped by Perſons altogether unqualified, who ſeized them by violence: Many times a Neighbouring Lord would by main force of Arms place a Son of his under Age in the Epiſcopal See, to Plunder the Church under his Name. *Rome* its ſelf was not ſecured from theſe diſorders, the *Petit* Neighbouring Tyrants inſulted her moſt; and during the tenth Age we meet with nothing but violent Intruſions and Expulſions in this principal See, where till now Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline had been all along maintained in its Genuine Purity.

Conc. Calchut. in Ang. 787. *Tribur.* 895 *de conſecr. diſt.* 1. c. 45.

Councils were very rarely held by reaſon of the difficulty of their meeting, and the univerſal Commotions, which were ſuch that they could not ſafely paſs from one City to another. Thus not only the Diſeaſes of the Church were deſperate, but even the Remedies were hard to come at. The Precedents and Rules of the former Ages were by little and little loſt and forgotten: by ſeeing Crimes paſs unpuniſhed, Men ventured more boldly upon them; and thus they were at firſt accuſtomed to them, and at laſt hardned in them: It was now no longer an ordinary Diſtemper but a plain loſs of Senſe and a Spiritual Lethargy.

Every one was a Chriſtian, but in ſuch a manner as if they had thought it a bare priviledge of Nature, and the Chriſtian and the Man had been the ſame thing: There was now no longer a diſtinction. Chriſtianity was little more than a Cuſtom of the Country, and ſcarce diſcovered it ſelf in any thing elſe than in ſome external Formalities. As for Vertues and Vices, there was hardly any difference between Chriſtians and Jews or Infidels, but only in Ceremonies, which have not force ſufficient for the reforming Mens Manners.

HAD

HAD not the Chriſtian Religion been the work of God, it could never have weathered out ſo violent a Storm But he hath plainly ſhewn, *That he* is in the midſt of his Church, and that all the Revolutions of Affairs are not able to overthrow her; on the contrary, the power of the Goſpel in a moſt wonderful manner ſhined forth in theſe miſerable times. How much ſoever ignorance prevailed, yet all the World acknowledged and adored the *one only God*, Creator of the univerſe; and Jeſus Chriſt the Saviour of Mankind: All the World believed a future Judgment and the Life to come; all the great principles of Morality were every where received and acknowledged; whereas in the moſt enlightned times of ancient *Greece* they were always doubted and diſputed even by the Philoſophers themſelves.

XLIX. The preſervation of Religion. *Pſ.* xlvi. 5.

'Tis true, theſe principles were but ill practiced; and though none called the truth of them into Queſtion, yet few purſued them to their neceſſary Conſequences, ſo as to lead their Lives in conformity to them: But the Morals of Chriſtianity failed not to produce ſome good effect, even upon thoſe that were no good Chriſtians. It prevented a world of miſchief; it ſoftned the moſt Barbarious People, and made them more tractable and Humane If they did not avoid all Crimes, yet many

V. Euſeb. i. *Præ. Evan.* c. iii, &c.

ny of them repented at leaſt, and did Penance; or if they did not do that, yet in their own Conſciences they condemned and diſapproved of them: In a Word, Chriſtianity in all places where it prevailed gave a general Tincture of Humanity, Modeſty, and Decency of Behaviour, not to be met with any where elſe.

In theſe times of which I am now ſpeaking, when the Face of the Church appeared ſo disfigured in general, yet there were great Doctors and great Saints of all Conditions in all parts of the Weſt; in *France* the Monaſtick diſcipline began to raiſe up its head by the Foundation of the famous Monaſtery of *Cluny*, whoſe firſt Abbots, St. *Odon* and St. *Majolus* are renowned both for their Life and Doctrine. In *Italy* St. *Romualdus* founded the Monaſtery of *Camaldoli* with many others, and had many eminent Diſciples: We ſee in the ſame times many holy Biſhops of an extraordinary Zeal for Religion, a St. *Dunſtan* in *England*, a St. *Udalric* in *Germany*, a St. *Adelbert* in *Bohemia*, the Apoſtle of the *Sclavi* and a Martyr: We ſee St. *Boniface* alſo a Martyr in *Ruſſia*, St. *Bruno* in *Pruſſia*, St. *Gerard*, a noble *Venetian*, Biſhop and Martyr in *Hungary*; and many others who by their Preachings, their Holineſs, and their Miracles continued down the Tradition of ſound Doctrine

trine and Ecclesiastical discipline. In the same Age we have amongst the Laity many Saints, even of the greatest Lords, as St. *Gerald* Count of *Aurillac*, St. *Stephen* King of *Hungary*, and St. *Emeric* his Son, the Emperor St. *Henry*, King *Robert*.

In these Saints, particularly those of the Nations newly Converted, as St. *Henry* and St. *Stephen*, we may see what dispositions towards Vertue were found in those Nations whom the *Romans* called Barbarians. They were naturally great observers of common Equity, generously Plain and Open-hearted, Chast, Despisers of Pleasure and sensual satisfaction; lovers of Justice, Hospitality and Alms-giving. When these Serious, Sincere, and Couragious People had once made trial of the Christian Religion, they Embraced it heartily. They never sought after Niceties in the Interpretation of it, nor were they staggered at any of the difficulties it contained: 'Tis true their Conduct was not always so consistent and uniform as that of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*; but then they were greater Strangers to Dissimulation and Hypocrisy.

'Twas by the special Care and Authority of these Holy Persons, that the Publick Peace began to be re-established by making all the Lords swear to the Truce of God; so they called the Cessation of all acts *Glab. l. v. c. i. an.* 1041.

acts of Hoſtility from *Wedneſday* Night to *Munday* Morning in every Week; and all that time the Clergy, Monks, Pilgrims and Labourers in Husbandry were to be unmoleſted. This Truce was eſtabliſhed in many Councils under the pain of Excommunication; ſuch force had Religion upon the Minds of Men, when the very Foundations of civil Society were almoſt overthrown. In theſe times alſo we meet with frequent mention of Excommunication againſt thoſe who ſhould ſtrike a Clergy-man; this was a thing never thought of in the Firſt Ages. Their own Dignity was then thought a ſufficient Protection to them; but they were now every Day expoſed to the utmoſt Violences.

Cap. i. extr. de trev. & pa.

L. The reſtabliſhment of Piety and diſcipline.

THE *Normans* had deſtroyed a great number of Churches, and others were ſuffered to run to Ruin upon the falſe Opinion they had, That the end of the World would be preciſely in the Thouſandth Year of our Lord; but when they ſaw that the World ſtill ſtood after that fatal Year, they began every where to build Churches again; and that after the moſt magnificent manner they were capable of in that Age; always more ſtately than any dwelling Houſes, not only of private Perſons but of the chiefeſt Nobility: They annex'd to them large Endowments, though

Glab. lib.

though for the moſt part they were no more than the Reſtitution of Tythes, and the other Goods uſurp'd in the late diſorders. Great care was every where uſed for the recovery of Relicks, and great coſt was ſpent in adorning them with the moſt precious Jewels that could be got, as we may ſtill ſee in the Treaſuries of the moſt ancient Churches. They applyed themſelves alſo at the ſame time to the reſtoring of the uſe of ſinging in Churches, and the other Solemnities of divine Service: 'Twas in the Eleventh Century that *Guido* Monk of *Arezzo* in *Tuſcany* invented the Notes, and introduced that Method which is the Foundation of all modern Muſick. The Religious Princes I have before mentioned, both by their Liberalities and by their Examples, favoured all theſe good deſigns. Part of the Reſponſes which are now ſung were compoſed by King *Robert*, and he thought it an honour to perform the Office of a Chanter publickly in the Church. *Helgand. vit. Rob.*

I find no Age in which the long *Pſalmody* was more in Vogue, as one may ſee by the Rule of the *Carthuſians*, and the other Orders of thoſe times. The Monks of *Cluny* brought into common uſe the Office for the Dead, and ſoon after commenced the little Office of the Virgin. Many had devotion enough to repeat over every Day the whole *Baron. ad Martyrol ii. Nov.* *Petr. Dam. li. 6. ep. 32.*

whole Book of Pſalms. As the number of their Offices increaſed, ſo did alſo their Maſſes and Altars. Domeſtick Chappels were exceeding numerous, every Lord would have one to himſelf within the Walls of his own Caſtle; that ſo he might not in the War-time be without the Maſs and other Services of the Church; but there was a mixture of Vanity in the Caſe, they loved to have Chaplians in their Family, and diſdained the publick Churches where they were undiſtinguiſhed from the common People. In the mean time it was impoſſible that this multitude of Offices Celebrated in ſo many different places ſhould appear with the ſame advantage as it would have done had there been but one Form or Office performed and directed by the Biſhop aſſiſted by all his Clergy; as it was the manner of the Ages foregoing. Beſides, the Reaſon of a great many of the Ceremonies was now forgotten, and yet the Forms were ſtill kept up by Tradition; and the notion of the ancient Politeneſs was quite loſt; ſo that from theſe times we ſee not the ſame care taken as was formerly, to erect their Churches at a convenient diſtance from other common Buildings, and out of the noiſe of publick Places: That they thought in Cities would be to loſe too much Ground. We ſee no more of the

Door-

Door-keepers, or of the other inferiour Orders of Clerks belonging to the Churches, whoſe buſineſs it was to keep every thing Decent, Orderly and Quiet. Theſe Offices were either turned over to Sextons or *Virgers*, and other ſuch-like Servants purely Laicks, or elſe wholly laid aſide; ſo that the Publick Congregations in the Churches became confuſed and Tumultuous. The Lords at firſt began the Cuſtom, and from them the Magiſtrates and other Laicks of better Quality took it, to ſeat themſelves in the Choire with the Clergy; and the ancient reſpect being once loſt, the whole crowd of the People, Women and all preſt up to the Altar. *V. Sup. pag.*

But in the Eleventh Age there were abuſes of far greater importance to be corrected; Simony and Incontinence. Biſhopricks and Benefices were commonly bought and ſold; and a great part of the Clergy publickly entertained Concubines; nay ſome had the Impudence to inſult the Law of the Church that requir'd the *Celibacy* of the Clergy, and declared againſt it as an Abuſe. In oppoſition to theſe diſorderly Innovators, St. *Peter Damianus* vigorouſly undertakes the Cauſe, and was ſupported therein by the Authority of *Leo* the Ninth, and the other Popes of thoſe times: And the better to root out theſe evils, they eſtabliſh't the

Glab. lib. v. c. iv. V. Petr. Dam. opuſc. vi. 17, 18.

Patr. Dam. opuſc. 24. & 27.

the Order of *Canons Regular*, who might ſhew to the Clergy the Example of living in Common, and obſerving the Canonical Diſcipline; and it was out of this Order of Men that the Biſhops and Paſtors were generally taken.

LI. Alterations in Penance.

WITH reſpect to the Laicks it was attempted to re-eſtabliſh Penances, and agreed upon what Penances ſhould be regularly impoſed according to the Canons; but many of the greateſt Offenders prov'd refractory, and having the Sword in their Hands ſtood it out againſt the Diſcipline of the Church. And many others who were content to ſubmit to Penance, would do it yet only after ſome Inauthentick Canons which very much mitigated the Rigor of it. Many that had undergone their Penance were not a jot amended by it: Nothing was to be ſeen but Relapſes and counterfeit Penances: It is true they reckoned for every Crime a diſtinct Penance; ſo that a Man who had committed thirty Homicides, and as many Perjuries or Adulteries, had ſo many Ages of Penance to run through. And from hence came the indulgences of ſo many Years as we meet with in ſome *Bulls*.

Petr. Dam. opuſc. vii. *Gomor. cap.* 10, 11, 12, *&c.*

Greg. vii. *lib.* vii. *ep.* x.

As God demands not impoſſibilities, they who ſtood charged with Penances for their whole Lives, or even beyond their

their lives, could do no more than to employ in them the remainder of their days; and to that end for the greater ſecurity, to ſhut themſelves up in a Monaſtery: But ſometimes they were relieved by the Commutation of works of Satisfaction; and theſe were variouſly changed according to the Abilities or Zeal of the Penitent. St *Peter Damianus* informs us that thoſe equivalent Penances were commonly received in his time, and gives us alſo an eſtimate of them. Three thouſand Stripes of Diſcipline could redeem one Year of ordinary Penance; and the ſinging of ten Pſalms, continuing all the while under the Laſh, made a Thouſand Stripes; ſo that the whole Pſaltery made up five years of Penance; and as by vertue of the Communion of Saints, we know God ſometimes pardons Sinners out of regard to the Prayers and other good works of their Brethren; there were ſome holy Perſons in thoſe time who devoted themſelves to the doing of Penance for the ſake of others. *P. Dam. vita SS. Rod. & Domin. c. 8, 10, &c.*

Of theſe the moſt famous was St. *Dominicus Loricatus*, ſo called becauſe he always wore next to his Skin a coat of Mail, which he never put off but when he gave himſelf the diſcipline of the Rod, and that he did ſo often and ſo roughly with ſo many Faſtings, Watchings, Genu- *Ib. c. 8*

nuflexions and all other ſorts of Auſteri-ties upon it, that we are almoſt frightned at the very reading of the account St. *Peter Damianus* who was his Spiritual direc-tor gives us of them: But the niceneſs and Effeminacy of our living way of finds it hard to comply with ſo rigorous a Devo-tion, of which notwithſtanding we ſee ma-ny inſtances in the Saints of thoſe times. But 'tis to be ſuppoſed that God inſpired them with this extraordinary conduct in compaſſion to the neceſſities of that Age: They had to do with a Generation ſo per-verſe and refractory, that 'twas but ne-ceſſary to ſtrike their Senſes with the moſt affecting objects. Bare reaſonings and perſw aſions would have provedbut weak Arguments to ſuch ignorant and brutiſh People, bred up in Blood and Rapine; and moderate ſeverities would have been looked upon as nothing by them who had been from their youth inured to the hardſhips of War, and always walked in Armour: But when they ſaw a St. *Boni-face* the Diſciple of St. *Romualdus* going bare foot in the coldeſt Countries; a St. *Domi-nic Loricatus* diſciplining himſelf till he was all of a gore Blood; they could not imagin but that theſe holy Saints did indeed love God and hate Sin; They knew not what to make of mental Prayer, but they very well ſaw that he prayed who repeated

the Psaltery, and they could not doubt but that these holy Persons loved their Neighbour when they saw them doing Penance, even for the Sins of other Men: Convinced by these outward and visible Demonstrations of their Zeal, they became more Docile and Tractable: They willingly hearkned to the Preachings of these Priests and Monks, whose Lives they could not but admire; and many of them were effectually converted: Though indeed these Flagellations, going in Iron-Chains, and such like means of mortifying the Flesh were not new Inventions. *Theodoret* gives us a number of like instances in his *Religiosa Historia*, or the lives of the Religious and Ascetick; and St. *Simeon Stilites* is alone sufficient to give Authority to all these almost incredible Austerities. The Rule of St. *Columbanus* who lived about the end of the Sixth Age, kept his Monks under the Discipline of the Rod, prescribing for almost every fault a certain number of Stripes: And we see in the after Ages many Saints giving themselves voluntary Castigations.

Amongst the Instances of discipline which served instead of Canonical Penances, one of the most usual was, That, of taking a Pilgrimage to some of the more Celebrated places of Devotion, as to *Jerusalem*, to *Rome*, to *Tours*, to *Compostella*.

Conc. Cabil ii. an. 813. In the ninth Age the many abuſes which had crept into this practice occaſioned great Complaints. If a Prieſt or other Clerk had been guilty of any notorious Crime, 'twas but taking a Pilgrimage; and by that they pretended to wipe off all blots and requalifie themſelves: From hence alſo the Lords took occaſion to lay ſevere Exactions upon their Subjects, under the pretence of defraying their Travelling expences; and many that had nothing of their own to live on, under this colour took the advantage of leading Vagabond lives in Sloth and Beggary: Others there were that paſt all their Days in roving about the World, naked and loaded with Chains of Iron, a diſmal Spectacle to all that beheld them. And 'tis true that for Murders and other ſuch-like horrid Crimes, the Criminals were ſometimes obliged by way of Penance to ſpend their Lives in ſuch a manner, to wander about the World, and carry along with them the marks of their misfortune: But never were Pilgrimages ſo much in vogue as after the end of the Eleventh Age; Wars and publick diſtractions being now in a great meaſure abated, and Pilgrims looked upon as Sacred Perſons; every one was for viſiting the places of Devotion, even Princes and Kings themſelves. King *Robert* paſſed his

Capitul. aquiſgran. an. 787. *c.* 73.

Helgaud.

Lent

Lent in Pilgrimages, and took a Journy to *Rome* for that purpoſe. The Biſhops themſelves made no difficulty of being abſent from their Churches upon this account.

Epiſt. Bened. vii. *ad epiſc. burg.*

LII. Croiſades and Indulgences.

HENCE came the *Croiſades* which were no other than vaſt Bodies of Armed Pilgrims. Theſe Enterpriſes were neceſſary in thoſe times. No one Chriſtian Prince was then of himſelf Potent enough to put a ſtop to the Progreſs of the *Mahometans*, the Declared Enemies of all thoſe who would not embrace their Religion. They had then for Two hundred Years Ravaged *Italy* without Controul; they had made themſelves Maſters of *Sicily* and almoſt all *Spain*. By the help of theſe *Croiſades* they were driven out of all theſe parts of Europe, and had their Power very much broken in *Ægypt* and *Syria*. In the mean time among theſe Military Penitents, the Diſcipline of the Church was but poorly Regarded, and theſe Enterpriſes how Pioufly ſoever deſigned, proved (as far as I can gueſs) one of the principal cauſes of breaking off the force of Penance. Then it was that firſt came in the Plenary Indulgence, that is to ſay, a total Remiſſion of all Canonical Penalties to any Man, whatſoever that would undertake the Expedition, and liſt himſelf

Villehard. lib. i. into the Service of God, for ſo was this War called. And this extraordinary Pardon drew together vaſt Numbers. Thoſe of the Nobleſs who underſtood nothing but Hunting and Fighting, were very well pleaſed with the Commutation, of having their irkſom Penances of Faſtings and Prayings, and above all the uſe of their Arms and Horſes, which were debarr'd them during their Penance, changed into the making of a Campeign. Their Penance was a pleaſure to them; nor was the Fatigue of the March conſiderable to them who had been always uſed to the Field. New places and new objects were indeed a diverſion to them. There was ſcarce any thing of Trouble in all this, but barely leaving their own Country and being long abſent from their Families. In the mean time great Journey and Company, was no very proper method for the correcting of Sinners. The Spirit of Compunction could ſcarce ſubſiſt with ſuch a Diſſipation of Thought as their circumſtances neceſſarily inferred. During theſe long Travaels, they could not but be for diverting and entertaining each other with pleaſant Diſcourſes, as the beſt way they had to leſſen the tediouſneſs of their March; and thoſe that are leaſt wiſe are every where the greateſt Talkers. Their thoughts muſt needs be always in a hurry

hurry about Proviſions, Lodgings, and the ſeveral Adventures they met with; they could not eaſily deny themſelves the Liberty of eating, and Sleeping too much, as thinking ſuch indulgencies in a manner neceſſary to refreſh themſelves after their tedious Fatigues. 'Twas impoſſible under theſe Circumſtances that their Life ſhould be regular or uniform; beſides the different manners of ſo many Countries they were to Travers in their march to the Holy-Land: The occaſions of Quarrels by reaſon of the diverſity of Humours, Cuſtoms and Languages; the Temptations to Luxury and Intemperance in plentiful Countries, and by the converſation of People extreamly corrupt. So that it plainly appears in Hiſtory, That the Armies of the *Croiſades* were not only not better than other Armies, but much worſe. That all ſorts of Vices reigned there; both thoſe which Pilgrims brought from home with them, and thoſe which they found in Strange Countries: In a word, if theſe expeditions ſerv'd for the puniſhment of any Sins, it was not ſo much the Sins of the *Latin* Chriſtians as of the Infidels and Schiſmatick Chriſtans, to whom they were indeed the terrible Scourges of God.

In theſe Croiſades there were always many Biſhops, Prieſts, and Monks; ſome were put upon by a true Zeal, but Liber-

tiniſm was a Motive to the greateſt part. they thought they might be allowed to bear Arms, and to make uſe of them againſt Infidels. 'Tis eaſy to imagin what decay in Diſcipline theſe lawleſs courſes joined with the ignorance which had then for ſo long a time prevailed in the World muſt needs have produced. The Popes themſelves, even thoſe that were the beſt meaning among them, found themſelves under a neceſſity of tolerating a great part of theſe Abuſes. They were forced to connive at many particular diſorders to further the grand deſign in general. They were obliged to bare a great regard to the Heads of the Croiſades, ſince by the conduct of their Arms they ſuccesfully maintained the Cauſe of the Chriſtian Religion, though they themſelves by their vicious Lives were a Scandal to it. The Indulgence of the Holy-war was alſo extended to ſuch as ſhould take up Arms againſt the Hereticks, who rebelled not only againſt the Church but againſt their own Princes, as the *Albigenſes* in *France*. And in geneneral it was granted in all Wars, wherein the Intereſt of Religion was thought to be concerned: And they judged it hard meaſure to deny the ſame favour to Women, or ſuch other Perſons whoſe Age or Condition put them out of a capacity of bearing Arms; and therefore the indulgence

gence was Communicated to them upon their giving Alms toward defraying the expences of the War; nor only so, but Alms also applyed to other pious Works were likewise judged proper to make satisfaction for Sins. They gave either Plenary or limited Indulgences to those who contributed toward the building of Churches: And this supplyed the Bishops with the means of erecting those stately Cathedrals so much admired at this Day. The same favour was granted for building and endowing Hospitals, especially those two sorts of them which were very frequent in those Days, *viz.* For *Pilgrims* and *Lepers*. There were also in favour of the Poor, indulgences annexed to other works of Charity. Thus Satisfactions became in a manner Arbitrary. The Penetintial Canons being now no longer kept up in practice, the very knowlege of them was soon after lost; and Penance was now made so gentle a thing, that Confession was the most dreadful part of it.

LIII. The great number of Doctors.

IN the Thirteenth Century, the Ancient Discipline received this blow. The Authority of Tradition had carryed it down through the Ages foregoing, and it may be said the Church never was so great a sufferer by simple Ignorance, as by new Speculations. They now began in

in their Scholaſtick Diſputes to depend too little upon pure Authority and were over fond of working out every thing by their own Reaſonings. *Ariſtotle* grew much in faſhion. And the Subtilties of Logick and Metaphyſicks which they borrowed from the *Arabians*, were in mighty requeſt. The ſcarcity of Antient Books, and the difficulty of underſtanding them by reaſon of the change of Language and Cuſtomes, Tempted them ſo much the more to apply themſelves to Speculations and the Reading of the Moderns. Thus the Scholaſtick Divinity was more valued than the Poſitive; *Gratian* and the Maſter of the Sentences were read more than the Fathers; and in the Scriptures, they were more curious in hunting after a Figurative Senſe then careful to obſerve the Literal.

After the Twelvth Age the greateſt part of the Biſhops applyed themſelves but little to Preaching, and the Inſtruction of their Clergy. They ſuffered themſelves to be encumbred with Temporal affairs. The Laiety, and eſpecially the Princes being Bred up in Ignorance, knew not how to Manage without the aſſiſtanſtance of the Clergy. 'Twas out of the Biſhops and Abbots that they choſe their Chancellours and Miniſters of State. They were made Judges in almoſt all Cau-

Cauſes. Without going any farther, their Temporal Lordſhips found them work enough; the Wars in which they were often forced to engage, the fortifying their Garriſons and aſſembling their Troops. They were obliged to maintain grand Equipages, large Families, and all ſort of Officers. In the midſt of ſo much buſineſs, the Spiritual part, which ought to have been the chiefeſt, was too often neglected. Thus Studying, Preaching, and the Adminiſtring the Sacraments fell to the Lot of the Doctors, of whom the Univerſities were full, but chiefly into the Hands of the Religious Mendicants, who came in very ſeaſonably to the Relief of the Church in theſe unhappy Ages.

But theſe Religious, how holy and how Zealous ſoever they might be, were not Proper Paſtors over any certain people, nor had they any regular Juriſdiction. They were rather a ſort of *Miſſionaries*; who following the orders of their Superiors, travelled throughout all the Dioceſes, Labouring in the Converſion of Hereticks and Sinners. Nor were their Labours without Succeſs. But the good ſervices they did the Church took not their full effect for want of power to continue their farther Inſtructions to thoſe whom they had converted, to correct their Miſcarriages, and compleat their Work, by abid-

abiding with them and watching over them till they had eſtabliſhed them beyond relapſe in the Right way. All this they could do only to ſome particular Perſons, who voluntarily Reſigned themſelves to their Direction. So that the Fruits of their Labours could not be of ſo general Effect, as when every Biſhop cloſely applyed himſelf to the Edification of his own Flock.

The Caſe was much the ſame with them in reſpect of Studies. The Doctors whether Seculars or Regulars that were in poſſeſſion of the Chairs, had ſcarce any thing of Authority, beſides what their perſonal Merit procured them. It was free for the Students to follow what Profeſſion they liked beſt. And from hence aroſe that Diverſity of Sects and Opinions, concerning matters that were allowed to be diſputed. For as there were a great number of Doctors who were not employed in the Cure of Souls, but ſpent their whole time in the Schools; they had leaſure to treat of many Queſtions more Curious then uſeful. The Laicks alſo were left at their own Liberty to follow what Preachers they moſt Affected, and to chuſe to themſelves their own Confeſſors, beſides their proper Paſtors. So that among ſuch a mnltitude of Prieſts, bad Chriſtians could not fail of meeting with

Thomaſs. diſcipl. iv. *l.* 1. *c.* 69. *n.* xi.

with some or other who would give them Absolution upon very easy Terms: And thus such as were willing to be deceived themselves, or had a mind to Deceive others did not forbear, without mending their Manners, to frequent the Churches and come to the Sacraments.

The greatest part of the Doctors themselves were born down by the Stream of the Corruption of the People, and suffered many considerable Relaxations of Discipline to plead Prescription. The little knowledge they had of the ancient Manners of the Church, was the principal cause of this Mischief. The usages introduced an Age or two before went down with them for immemorial Customs: It is strange, for instance, that in the Days of St. *Thomas Aquinas*, they should not remember how they kept their Fasts in the Age preceeding; For St. *Bernard* assures us that in his time all the World without distinction, observed in Lent not to break their Fast till Evening. Kings and Princes, Clergy, People, gentle and Simple, Rich and Poor, all of them did so; and yet St. *Thomas* not only plainly tells us that in his time none Fasted beyond three of the Clock in the Afternoon, but also pretends to prove, That Christians ought not to Fast after any other manner; and that Fasting till the Evening was peculiar to

S. Bern. Serm. in cap. Jejun.

S. Thom. ii. ix. 147. *art.* 7. *ad* i.

to the old Law: So eaſy a thing is it to find arguments to juſtify all ſorts of Practices when one is ignorant of Fact. This Ignorance made them look upon Antiquity as Novelty, and the Authority of the Moderns as a ſurer Ground to proceed upon than that of the Antients, of whom they had only a confuſed notion, that their Manners were altogether different from ours, without ſufficiently diſtinguiſhing whether this diverſity lay in any of the Eſſentials of Chriſtianity, or only in ſuch indifferent matters as Habits and Language. And as they gave themſelves the liberty of ſtarting every Day new Queſtions and inventing new Subtilies; there aroſe at laſt a ſet of Caſuiſts who founded their Morals rather upon human Reaſon, than upon Scripture and Tradition, as if Jeſus Chriſt had not taught us all Truth, as well for Manners as for Faith; but had left us ſtill to ſeek with the ancient Philoſophers.

LIV. A ſucceſſion of ſound Doctrin and good examples in all times.

I SHALL not pretend to give a particular of the diſorders that followed upon theſe looſe Principles which they brought into their new Syſtem of Morality; they are but too well known of themſelves: Nor is it my deſign to deſcribe the manners of bad Chriſtians, which are no better than thoſe of other Men; my buſineſs is only

to

to represent the manners which distinguish true Christians from the rest of the World. Now God hath never so forsaken his Church, but examples of this kind were always to be found in it: After what manner soever the Church was governed whether immediately by Bishops, or by Priests, either Commissionated by them, or sent abroad by the Popes, whether by Seculars or Regulars, by ordinary Pastors or Foreign Missionaries; it hath always had the same Religion and the same Body of Doctrine. The true Faith has always been preserved in purity, and the grand principles of Morality have always stood firm. It hath been always a thing certain and granted that we ought to observe the Law of God explained according to Tradition, and the Authority of the ancients; and that we ought to form our Lives after the examples of those holy Persons whom the Church hath publickly Honoured for Saints.

And such living Models there have always been; every Age hath had its Apostles that went to Preach the Faith to Infidels; every Age hath had its Martyrs; Virgins and true Penitents have always been in great numbers: It was (as St. *Bernard* observes) the sincere desire of Penitence that after the Eleventh Age introduced so many new Orders of Monks. *Serm. de S. Andr. vit. S. Mala.*

God

God hath always from time to time raiſed up extraordinary Perſons to maintain his holy Doctrine and revive decaying Piety. What is there comparable to St. *Bernard*? Hath he not ſhewn in his own Perſon the Zeal of the Prophets, the Learning and Eloquence of the greateſt Doctors of the Church, and the Mortification of the moſt perfect Recluſes? We are certainly much endebted to *Innocent* the Third, and the other great and learned Popes of thoſe times, to the *Maſter* of the Sentences and St. *Thomas* and the reſt of them who have reduced Divinity into a Method. St. *Francis* hath given us an eminent Example of the Chriſtian Life, practiced according to the Letter, of an Humility and Mortification worthy of the Apoſtolick Time: Thus from Age to Age, from Generation to Generation, God hath preſerved in his Church the ſucceſſion of true Doctrine and Holy Life.

Heb. xiii. 8. It is certain then, That Jeſus Chriſt is to Day as well as Yeſterday, and will be the ſame to all Ages. In vain therefore do bad Chriſtians now adays vilify the Veneration we juſtly have for Antiquity, and for the Examples of the Saints; by ſuppoſing that in the Firſt Ages of Chriſtianity Men were clear of another Nature then what we are now; their Bodies robuſt and better able to bare thoſe Faſtings

and

and other such-like Severities; their Spirits more Docile and pliable, and therefore all the practices of Vertue more easy to them: If we tell them that St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* lived in Poverty and Labour; they Answer, *They were Apostles*; St. *Anthony* and St. *Martin* underwent great Mortifications; *They were Saints*: St. *Austin* made his Clergy live in Common; and he himself (tho' a great Bishop) lived but very Ordinarily; *This might be in those Days*: Do you think therefore that these Words, *Saintship*, *Antiquity*, and the *Primitive Church*, are allowable exceptions? That the exercises of Penance; the being continually occupied in the word of God; the renouncing the Pleasures and Vanities of this wicked World; the Clergies keeping themselves disengaged from Secular Affairs, and leading lives singularly Exemplary: That all these things were the extraordinary attainments of the Primitive Church, whose excellencies we must not pretend to Rival: That to exempt our selves from the obligation of following so glorious Presidents, 'tis but to distinguish the Times and the Work's done. *V. Chrysost de compunct.*

The Church (say they) was strong and vigorous in her Youth, and produced then Heroick Vertues: She is now in her Old Age and Declension; she hath had

her *Spring* and her *Summer*; and now ſhe is in her *Winter*: But what mean theſe *Metaphors*? Do they pretend that the duration of the Church doth in reality reſemble the Changes of the Year, or the courſe of the Life of Man? will any one dare to ſay, that ſhe was imperfect in her beginnings, wanted time to give her full Maturity, and muſt feel her decays; as other tranſitory things, or like the Productions of Men. But I deſire to know in what this change has happened ſince the Publication of the Goſpel; *Is it in humane Nature?* Experience and the Faith of all Hiſtory aſſures us the contrary: *Is it in the Law of God, or is it in his Grace?* Herein there is ſtill the ſame Power, the ſame Goodneſs that ever there was. Jeſus Chriſt hath never told us that his Church muſt be governed by different Rules according to the changes of Times. The Abolition of the ancient Law and the Abrogation of Ceremonies was expreſly foretold: but as to the Goſpel it muſt be Preached both to the utmoſt parts of the Earth, and to the end of the World: Let us not therefore deceive our ſelves with frivolous excuſes, nor charge the preſent corruption of our Manners upon any other fault then that of our Ignorance and Negligence. *It is as dängerous* (ſaith Pope *Gregory* the Seventh) *to undermine the*

Apolog. decretor.

Man

Manners and Discipline of the ancient Church as to attack its Faith, since both the one and the other are derived to us from the same Tradition.

LV. Some abuses tolerated in the Church and how they came to be so.

IT is true, the Church hath sometimes born with some Abuses which had taken too deep rooting, waiting a favourable Conjuncture to Reform them; and hath sometimes indulged her Children for the hardness of their Hearts in the Relaxation of the ancient Discipline. The Rule of Communicating four times a Year stood in force in the Ninth Age; but in the following it was only ill observed. *Petrus Blesensis* informs us, that in his times in the Twelfth Age, the greatest part of Christians Communicated but once a Year: The Church complied with this usage and put it in the Canons of the *Lateran* Council. It was forbidden formerly to say the private Masses during the time of solemn Mass, to avoid disturbing that Service; yet Custom carried it. In the time of St. *Thomas*; that is about Four hundred Years ago, they kept their Fasts till three of the Clock in the Afternoon; and we find no mention but of one eating; afterwards it came to Noon, and a Collation was allowed: Amongst these Mitigations I reckon Penance left to the discretion of the Confessor, and the frequent granting of Indulgencies; as likewise the dispensing

Petr. Bles. Serm. 16.

Can. omn. utriusque, 1215.

Conc. Rav. iv. 1317. *rubr.* 12.

ii. ii. 9. 147. *a.* vii.

with the Rigor of many of the Rules of the Monaſticks. They thought that the Religious, though falling ſhort of the utmoſt Perfection that their Rule required, would yet even under ſome abatements arrive to an higher Perfection than if they continued in the World, and that it was better ſomewhat to ſoften and qualify the Faſt of Lent, than to let it run wholly into diſuſe; but we are not from thoſe Condeſcenſions to imagine that the way to Heaven is become more eaſy to Us, than it was to them of Old; that we are more happy than our Fore-fathers; or that the Biſhops and Popes of theſe laſt Ages thought themſelves wiſer than their Predeceſſors.

We need only read the Conſtitutions and Canons which have Authoriſed the ſeveral Relaxations, to ſee that the Church never did it without Regret. Many Deviations came in only by common uſage. In the mean time the Church hath taken ſpecial care in ſuch caſes, to retain certain Obſervances in remembrance of the true Practice of Antiquity. Thus the Office for the Noon or Evening Service ſaid on Faſt-days before Dinner; All the Formularies of Ordinations and other publick Acts, are as it were ſo many repeated Proteſtations to ſalve the authority

ty of the ancient Rules, and bar the pretence of Preſcription againſt them.

There are other Abuſes which the Church hath always condemned; as thoſe abſurd Shows which they had the boldneſs to bring even into the Churches themſelves, and which were forbidden in the Council of *Baſil*: And as the profane Jollity on the Feaſts of the Saints, the remains of which wee ſee in that of St. *Martin's* Day, of the Kings, and on thoſe of their Patron Saints in the Villages; or Country Wakes: And as the Debauches of the Carnival, which had no other beginning than the Reluctance People had about the keeping of Lent, reſolving to take their Fill of Pleaſure before they began their Faſt. Little did the Apoſtles and their Diſciples imagine that this Holy Preparation for the Paſſover, ſhould one Day have proved an occaſion of Diſſolution and Licentiouſneſs.

Conc. Baſil. Seſs. xii. *c.* xi. *V. Syn. Vigorn. an.* 1240. *c.* iv.

The Saints and all true Chriſtians have always openly declared againſt theſe Abuſes. We know with what Vigour St. *Charles Borromeus* ſuppreſſed them, and how Zealouſly he Laboured to bring back again into the Church the Spirit of Antiquity, even to the leſſer matters of Religion. The Council of Trent, and thoſe who were employed to ſee it put into Execution in the Provinces, aimed

at no other end than This. And ſo many Reformations that have been made in the Religious Orders ſince the laſt Age, were only in order to reduce them to their Primitive Conſtitution. St. *Tereſa* could not endure that under the pretence of Diſcretion, and for the avoiding of Scandal, there ſhould be Reſtraints lay'd upon the fervour of thoſe who affected to imitate the Saints of the firſt Age. She complains that theſe Diſcretions have ſpoiled the World, and maintains that in her Age, which is very near ours, the Vertues of the Primitive Church were not Impracticable Leſſons. 'Twas upon this occaſion ſhe wrote the Life of St. *Peter* of *Alcantara*, ſhe herſelf being an eye Witneſs to it.

Vi. S. Ter. c. 27. fin.

§ LVI. The uſe of this Work.

Proceeding upon ſo good Authorities, I thought I might do ſome ſervice to the World in Repreſenting the Manners of the Ancients, which ought to be the Patterns now of all good Chriſtians. I have ſaid nothing but what is well known to Perſons of Learning, and taken out of Books with which they are familiarly acquainted. And they will ſee that much more might have been added to the ſame Purpoſe. There are many things here not commonly known to every good Chriſtian; and ſuch things too as are fit for their Edification. They will ſee that the

the Religion of a Chriſtian conſiſts not altogether (as too many imagine) in ſome formal performances. To ſay over every Morning and Night ſome ſhort Prayers; to aſſiſt on Sundays at the Publick Service; to diſtinguiſh the Holy Time of Lent, only by abſtaining from ſome certain ſort of Dyets, and to diſpence with it upon trivial Occaſions; to approach the Sacraments ſo Seldom, and with ſo ſmall affection, that they turn Solemn Feſtivals into Melancholy Days. And as to the common Courſe of their Lives, to be as much addicted to the Intereſts and Pleaſures of this World as *Pagans* themſelves could be. Theſe are not the Chriſtians I have been Deſcribing.

I hope alſo, that the Deſcription I have here given of the Holy Manners of thoſe that were really Chriſtians, may make ſome Impreſſions upon ſuch Perſons who have no more ſenſe of things, than to confound the true Religion with thoſe falſe ones which the Error of Ignorant, or Craft of diſigning Men have introduced. Let a Man but conſider that vaſt change of Manners which the Goſpel hath wrought in all Nations, and the Diſtinguiſhing Characters there have always been between true Chriſtians, and Infidels; and he will ſee that the Chriſtian Religion ſtands upon a ſurer Bottom then he

thought for. He will be forced to believe that it was at first established by the Power of Miracles, for there can be nothing more Incredible than that such a Change should be wrought without Miracles. These Miracles made so strong an Impression, that it was not till very late any one did so much as think of calling them into Question. To speak no more than what we know, 'tis scarce above Two hundred Years since this Libertinism was introduced by some *Italians*, who tho' Men of Wit, were very Ignorant of Religion, and disgusted with these Abuses; then they were charmed with the Beauty of the Ancient Greek and Latin Authors, with the Government of these People and their way of Living: And so much the more because the maxims of those Heathens better agreed with the Corruption of human Nature, and the general Practices of Mankind. In short these Modern *Italians* relished nothing else.

This mischief was farther encreased by the new Heresies that were broached in these last Ages. The Disputes upon the very Fundamental Principles of Religion shock't the Faith of many; who yet upon divers Temporal Motives continued in the outward profession of the Catholick Religion: And amongst the Hereticks themselves were great numbers who being no lón-

longer reſtrained by Authority, have driven the Conſequences of their ill principles to extremity, and are come to that paſs as to look upon Religion it ſelf as no more than a piece of State-Policy. This unhappy notion got ground, and eaſily ſpread it ſelf. Young Perſons hearing their Parents perhaps, or thoſe whom they looked upon as Men of Wit, making ſome lewd Jeſts upon Religion, or it may be venturing to ſay in plain terms, that there was nothing in it at the bottom, preſently took up with that; and finding theſe notions agreeable to their Paſſions and Deſires, never troubled their thoughts any farther about inquiring into the Merit of the matter. Vanity alſo came in for its ſhare: They thought by this means to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the ignorant Vulgar, and appear more diſcerning than the honeſt well meaning People of former Ages: beſides ſloth was another Motive to make them either take matters upon truſt, or determine at all Adventures rather than to be at the trouble of examining the Truth; but let Men ſay what they will, the matters I have here laid down will be always true; what *Origen* in his Book againſt *Celſus* ſo often inculcates, that Jeſus Chriſt hath reformed the World, and filled it with vertues unknown to former Ages.

And

LVII. The Conclusion.

And this is what I had to say concerning the Manners of the Israelites and of the Christians; such was the outward appearance of the Lives of the faithful of the Old and of the New-Testament. In my Opinion the first Discourse shews us the best use of Temporal advantages, and the most accountable Methods of living up to Innocence and Nature. In this *latter* I have endeavoured to shew what was the life of those whose Conversation was in Heaven; and who while they were in the Flesh lived yet by the Spirit. This Life perfectly Spiritual and Supernatural was the peculiar effect of the Grace of Jesus Christ.

The Manners of the Israelites, published also in English 1683. but without taking any notice of the Author.

If what I have Written proves Instrumental to give a right notion of the Life which is truly reasonable and Christian, and to make any one apply himself seriously to the practice of it: If matters prove thus, I shall not at all be disturbed at the different Censures of the Reader, or the Faults with which the Work may be Charged.

BRITISH 6 AU 85 MUSEUM

THE END.

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